WHAT IS THIS MOSLEM WORLD?

by

CHARLES R. WATSON

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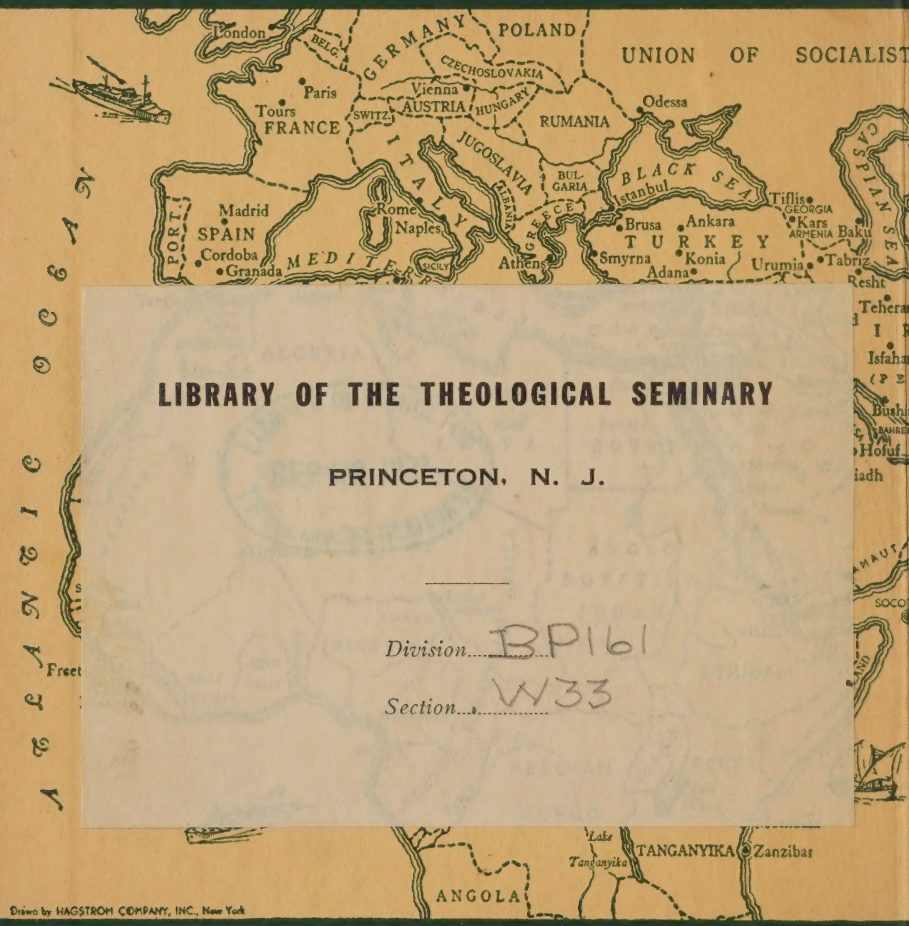

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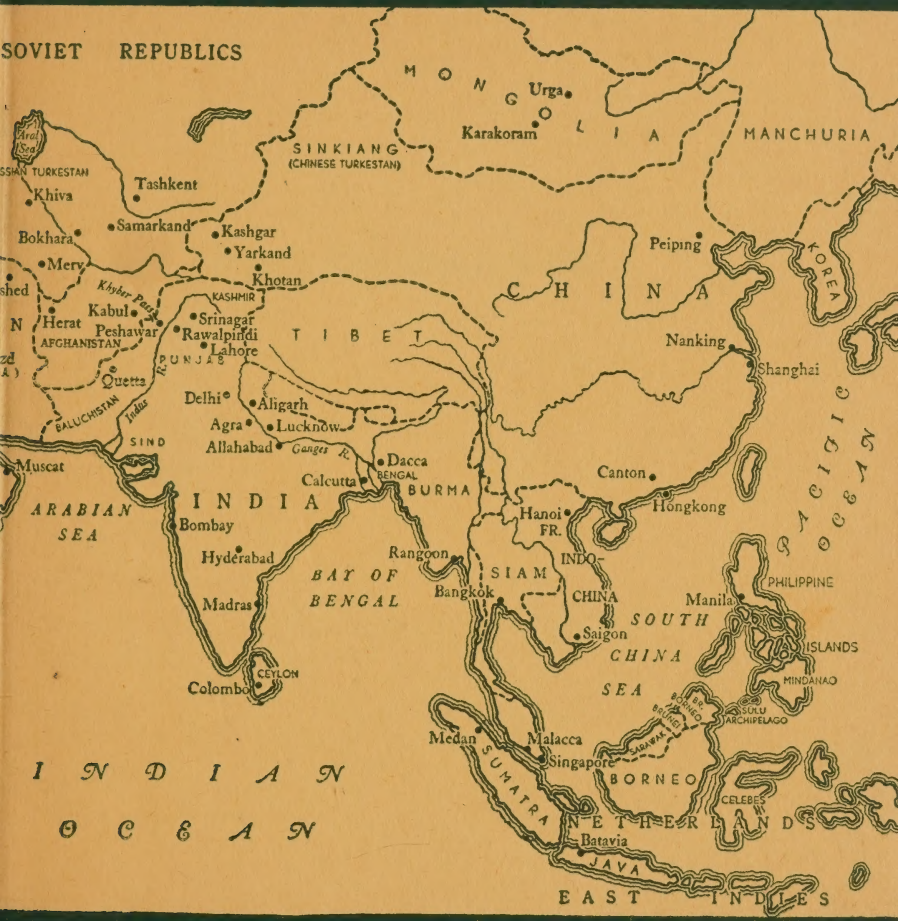

What Is This Moslem World?

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BY CHARLES R. WATSON

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Charles Roger Watson was born in Cairo, the son of United Presbyterian missionaries. He attended school in Cairo until he had nearly completed his preparation for college, and on returning to America studied at Laurenceville School for a year and then entered Princeton University, from which he was graduated in 1894. He took his theological studies in Allegheny Theological Seminary and in Princeton Theological Seminary, being graduated from the latter in 1899. He was ordained to the ministry of the United Presbyterian Church and served as pastor of the First Church of St. Louis until 1902, when he was called to be corresponding secretary of the United Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. He served in this position until 1916, and in these years traveled widely in India, Egypt and the Sudan. When it was decided in 1916 to establish an interdenominational Christian university in Egypt, Dr. Watson was chosen to be its president and he shared in its organization in the years immediately following the World War. It was opened in 1920 as the American University at Cairo. As the head of this outstanding institution in Cairo, he has had unusual opportunities for close acquaintance with Moslem scholars and leaders from many countries and for constant touch with the enterprise of Christian missions throughout the Moslem world. Dr. Watson is the author of several volumes, among them *In the Valley of the Nile*, 1908; (with W. B. Anderson) *Far North in India*, 1909; and *The Sorrow and Hope of the Egyptian Sudan*, 1913.

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To My Wife

WHOSE COOPERATION AND SACRIFICES
ALONE MADE POSSIBLE THIRTY-FIVE YEARS
OF MISSIONARY SERVICE

Contents

AUTHOR'S PREFACE ix

CHAPTER ONE. AN AIR JOURNEY ACROSS MOSLEM LANDS 1

CHAPTER TWO. MOSLEM FOLK: THEIR WAY OF LIVING 29

Mosques and Minarets.—The Grace and Dignity of Costume and Movement.—Atmosphere of Leisure and Repose.—Imagery of Thought and Language.—Veil and Lattice.—Hospitality.—Feasts and Festivals.—Pervading Sense of God.—Meagerness of Physical Life.—Missed Privileges of Childhood.—Woman's Rights and Wrorgs.—Where Human Minds Stagnate.—When God Frowns.—When Passion and Fury Rage.—The Modernized Moslem.

CHAPTER THREE. THE GRIPPING POWER OF ISLAM 53

Mohammed.—The Koran.—Formulated Beliefs and Practices.

CHAPTER FOUR. AN APPRAISAL OF ISLAM 70

Mohammed.—The Koran.—Formulated Beliefs and Practices.—Effects of Religion on Life.

CHAPTER FIVE. FERMENT AND REVOLUTION 94

Social Changes.—Education.—Economic Life.—National and Political Life.—Religion.

CHAPTER SIX. ISLAM'S CONTACT WITH CHRISTENDOM 123

Mohammed's Contacts with Christianity.—The Period of Conquest.—The Period of Islamic Culture.—The Period of the Crusades.—The Period of Ottoman Power.—The Modern Period.

CHAPTER SEVEN. THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY MOVEMENT 145
Pre-modern Missions to Moslems.—Modern Missions to Moslems.

CHAPTER EIGHT. THE FUTURE 172

GLOSSARY 192

READING LIST 195

INDEX 202

Author's Preface

To My Moslem Friends

I am deeply concerned that you shall not misunderstand the spirit of this book, and therefore I address you first. Many of its statements may come to you as a revelation and a shock, if you are not already acquainted with that large body of Western literature dealing with your religion and civilization. I do not defend the spirit of all Western studies of Islam. There are some that are harsh and unfair. But even those written in a purely judicial and historical spirit are bound to shock and surprise you, for two reasons: Neither we Christians nor you Moslems are used to seeing ourselves as others see us, and the picture is always disconcerting. Another reason is that the Orient is not yet accustomed to what our scientific spirit has made quite usual in the West, namely, the subjection of even the sacred things of religion to merciless investigation and scrutiny. I can assure you that a conscious effort has been made in this book to exercise a kindly and understanding spirit.

I do not expect you to concur in all the judgments expressed, but I do venture the hope that, if the book comes to your notice, it may serve three purposes: (1) that it will give you a clearer understanding of where Islam and Christianity differ, so that you, on your side, may appreciate the Christian point of view, even if you cannot accept it; (2) that it will lead you to examine honestly and dis-

passionately the Christian objections to Islam; if these objections are well grounded, you will know your duty; if they are not well grounded, something should be done dispassionately to clear up these misunderstandings on the part of Christians; (3) that it will show you that the Christian missionary movement of today represents a sincere and unselfish desire to offer you the best that Christianity possesses and to do this in a courteous and fraternal spirit and in the fullest cooperation with your own progressive leaders.

To My Fellow Missionaries

As I have tried to bring out more than once in this book, we are at the beginning of a new era in the life of Moslem lands. For Christian missions in those lands a new chapter also begins. Nationalism and secularism are dominating the life of Moslem peoples increasingly; traditional orthodoxy is on the wane. In some ways our freedom of action is becoming limited. We are made to feel more and more that missionaries have no natural rights that will be recognized. We are only guests in the lands in which we labor. At any moment and in any respect we may be asked to cease our activities.

How important it is, therefore, for us to create in these Moslem lands a dominant impression of disinterested love and of useful and unselfish service, for after all it is only love that can win the day. Love is the heart of the gospel we are supposed to be carrying. There were times when we forgot this and thought it was truth, and we wielded the sword of truth with all the merciless zeal of a crusader.

To be sure, God is truth also, and love must never dull the edge of the sword of truth; but our goal is persuasion, not a self-glorifying intellectual conquest. Thus it is that the world situation itself is forcing us to focus more than ever upon a gospel of love, which is the crying need of the Moslem world today. We are challenged, therefore, as never before to draw upon the divine creative power of the Holy Spirit for the discovery of new methods, suited to this new era, whereby we may give the fullest and richest expression to God's love, as manifested in Christ, for the Moslem nations of the earth.

To All

I wish I could convey to you, as a stimulus for much wider reading and study, my feeling of the inadequacy of this book save as a mere introduction to the subject with which it deals. Islam with its world of 250,000,000 people and its thirteen centuries of development deserves much more study than this handbook can provide. At best it can only serve as an introduction to worthier, specialized studies that already exist.

The claims of Islam upon our interest as Christians are many. One is a pathetic claim. It is that if Christianity had been active and vital in the days of Mohammed, Islam would probably never have arisen at all. Christianity's neglect of Arabia led to the rise of Islam. A further claim upon Christian interest is the strong missionary character of Islam. Wherever it goes it seeks to make converts. Indeed, apart from Christianity itself, Islam is the only one of the great world religions that is on the aggressive, steadily winning

new converts and conquering new territory, particularly among pagan and primitive races.

This study is an endeavor to understand the Moslem peoples and their politico-religious civilization, but it does not stop there. It pushes on to a practical consideration of how Christianity should deal with this gigantic world problem involving one-seventh of the human race. With its great spiritual and moral resources, what is Christianity under obligation to do for a sector of humanity needing help in order to achieve material, intellectual, moral, social and spiritual development and self-realization? Such fraternal effort has been called missions. Unfortunately the word has become too circumscribed in the minds of some, too much associated with technical and professional methods. It is almost time to discover a new word which will humanize our thought of other peoples and emphasize the fraternal spirit in which we propose to go to them. Yet, missions connotes so much that a new word would fail to include, that we do well to hold to it. We propose, then, to review that great movement called missions, at least the sector of it called missions to Moslems.

It may help the reader at this point to know more specifically the ground traversed by this book. In the two opening chapters we shall acquaint ourselves, in travelogue style, with the lands and the peoples who constitute this great Islamic civilization. The Moslem world is made up of men and women who are at heart just like you and me. There are two proofs of this: one is that they appreciate a joke, the other, that they respond to love. Then we shall look at their religion, for it occupies a large place in their

lives. But we shall look at it first from their point of view, for we wish to know why it means so much to them. This is done in Chapter Three. After that, we have the right to ask ourselves, as we do in Chapter Four, how their religion measures up to Christian standards. This is our appraisal of the religion of these Moslem peoples. Then, because these modern times have witnessed such remarkable changes in the Moslem world, we need some portrayal of these upheavals. Chapter Five deals with ferment and revolution, two words that best characterize what is happening. In Chapter Six we review that long sad past of almost a thousand years during which Islam and Christendom stood related to each other as political rivals and enemies. In Chapter Seven we make a rapid survey of the Christian missionary movement; and finally, in Chapter Eight, the future is faced. Past labors are found to have been so limited and insignificant in comparison with the massiveness and solidity of the Moslem world that they can only be regarded as exploratory, a clearing of the ground and a laying of foundations. The real task, therefore, lies ahead.

In conclusion, as author, I must express my indebtedness for historical and factual data to a long list of books dealing with Islamics and the Moslem world; many of these appear in the reading list given at the end of the book. Friends in various countries have cooperated also in checking the accuracy of the facts presented and the fairness of the judgments expressed and in offering other useful suggestions. To all these the author's thanks are extended. For the general outline of the book, for the selection of points empha-

sized, for the general missionary attitude adopted, and above all for the limitations and defects that appear, the author must accept sole responsibility.

A word should be added regarding the spelling of certain Islamic terms. It has been thought best to adopt the modern and more familiar spellings of such words as Moslem, Mohammed, and Koran. Similarly these spellings have been introduced into all quotations as well for the sake of uniformity.

CHARLES R. WATSON

Cairo, Egypt
March, 1937

What Is This Moslem World?

Chapter One

AN AIR JOURNEY ACROSS MOSLEM LANDS

HOW may we visualize the vast extent of the Moslem world and its solidarity as well? An air journey is proposed. It has the advantage of speed, for we wish to cover twenty-five thousand miles. At the normal rate of commercial travel today in Africa and Asia we can count on eight hundred miles a day. Yet even at that rate a month will be required. Air travel adds to the advantage of speed that of altitude; with altitude comes range of vision. Could we fly at heights that would enable us to see two hundred miles on either side of our line of travel, our survey would cover ten million square miles. Yet even that is far short of the vast area we wish to scan. Again, air travel helps to emphasize the physical and geographical characteristics which determine a country's life. These are important factors in the life and history of any race.

For this never-before-executed air journey of twenty-five thousand miles over world areas touched and dominated today by the Moslem civilization and religion, we take our start at Tangier across the Straits from Gibraltar and after considerable zigzagging on our course we shall end up in the Philippines. Judging by a recent air journey of sixteen thousand miles, nine thousand dollars will be expended by us

for fuel alone, not to mention all the other expenses. But the voyager needs to be warned that on this journey, for the most part, there will be no charted courses to follow, no weather reports to warn or help him, no landing places prepared for him, no supply stations to minister to him, no rest houses to sleep in, for he will be going over much territory that has never been surveyed by air and much that is impassable and unapproachable by motor car or even camel. The chief requirement for this journey is a good pair of eyes that can recognize water and land, lake and river, swamp and forest, field and town; and, in addition to a good pair of physical eyes, a good imagination is needed: both geographical imagination and historical imagination, for there are "those that have eyes and they see not."

Tangier to Senegal

This is the first leg of our journey. We take off from Tangier at the northwestern tip of the great continent of Africa. What memories of political intrigue are associated with its present international status! But aside from politics it is a health resort of great charm. As we gain height we are fascinated with those far-reaching expanses of water to the west and to the east, the great Atlantic and the historic Mediterranean, respectively. Was there ever such blue, limning with white the shoreline where the waves break eternally? But our faces are set southward. A flight of fifty miles takes us out of the Tangier Zone and into Morocco. Politically, it belongs to France, more or less—for great stretches have been neither conquered nor visited. Here Moslem civilization holds sway, for 94 per cent of its popu-

lation of 4,500,000 is Moslem. This is *El-Moghreb-el-Aksa*, "The Farthest West" of that wave of Islamic conquest which reached clear across North Africa to the Atlantic in the seventh century under Okba. Of him history records that so great was his passion for Islam that, spurring his horse forward into the surf, he exclaimed, "Great God, were I not checked by this raging sea, I would push on to the nations of the West preaching the unity of thy name and slaying with the sword those who refused to submit!" It was such fervor as his that won the land for Islam.

An hour and a half by air from the boundary line, the city of Fez comes into view—in reality twin cities, Old Fez and New Fez—our first glimpse of a solidly Moslem city. Compactly built, glistening white, Fez stands out against

AN AIR JOURNEY OVER AFRICA

the surrounding green of luxuriant groves of orange, pomegranate and especially olive trees. Great crenelated walls surround it. The flat roofs strike the eye. We can distinguish the square minarets of mosques. Presently the university mosque of El Kairouine in Old Fez, celebrated in all North Africa, appears; while on the other side of the city the imperial palace stands out as the distinguishing mark of New Fez. The Arab saying is, "O Fez, all the beauty of the earth is centered in thee." Yet it must be confessed that distance lends enchantment. More than 80,000 inhabitants are crowded into its narrow confines.

We push on southwest for 165 miles to Marrakesh, the largest city of Morocco, with 150,000 inhabitants. In its earlier days it was accounted one of the greatest cities of Islam and was credited with a population of 700,000. Yet even today, its size and the exceptional beauty of its location maintain its claim to be the leading city of Morocco. In the midst of a spacious plain, surrounded by luxuriant groves of fruit trees, with an altitude of some fifteen hundred feet and with a magnificent view of the Grand Atlas range, Marrakesh is indeed a queen among cities.

Two hundred and eighty miles of flight will bring us to the southern boundary of Morocco, but for this we must cross the Grand Atlas range, with peaks fourteen thousand feet high, and then the Anti-Atlas range beyond that. Five ranges of these Atlas Mountains run from northeast to southwest. Between lie fertile and well watered plains. Unexplored mineral resources are hidden in these mountains, but already copper, tin, lead, oil, and incredible deposits of phosphates are known and are being exploited.

To quote V. C. Scott O'Connor, Morocco is a country which includes

mountains almost as stately as the Rockies or the Alps; valleys profound and lovely; cedars as noble as those of Lebanon; olive groves like those of Delphi; vines that grow wild, or are as cultivated now as those of Provence; cities like Fez which belong to *The Arabian Nights*, and Marrakesh, the Granada of Morocco, which glows in her fierce sunlight, girdled by palm oases, within a day's march of snow-covered summits; . . . cities and peoples passionate with the fury and excess of Africa, yet profoundly inspired by the worship of the One God, their compassionate and merciful Allah! [1]

Leaving Morocco, we fly six hundred miles over the Spanish colony of Rio de Oro, and then come again to French territory, Mauritania, a part of French West Africa. After a flight of four hundred miles straight south we reach the Senegal River. This stretch is fairly typical of the other three-fourths of Mauritania which lie beyond our course. How meagerly the land ministers to life may be judged by the fact that Mauritania has an area larger than that of three Ohios and yet a population only equal to that of Toledo, Ohio.

We have finished the first leg of our journey, from Tangier to Senegal, traveling southward some sixteen hundred miles. It has brought us into touch with two contrasting types of country: the rich, resourceful, promising, healthful, attractive type represented by Morocco; and the desolate, dry, depressing desert area represented by Rio de Oro

[1] "Beyond the Grand Atlas," in *The National Geographic Magazine*, March, 1932, pp. 261 and 264.

and Mauritania. In both settings Islam is at home, established securely. Can Christianity make an equally good showing in the desert—the "man-eating desert," as the Arabs call it? Can it do better in the richer land?

The lands we have crossed aggregate in their total area the equivalent of ten New York States, and have a population of five and a half million, almost solidly Moslem. Racially we have been seeing Arabs and Berbers for the most part.

Senegal to the Nile

The second section of our journey carries us eastward, straight across the black belt of Africa for thirty-five hundred miles. We shall keep to areas where the Moslem civilization dominates. Of the 20,000,000 inhabitants of these areas, three-fourths are Moslems. To these millions of Moslems must be added several millions more scattered in lands south of our line of travel. But the chief significance of this section of our flight is that it brings into view the conquests of Islam among the Negro races of Africa, the subjugation of paganism and animism to the faith and practices of Arabia. Geographically, too, one senses a great change. We are now in the areas watered by great rivers—the Senegal, the Volta, and above all that gigantic network of rivers which belong to the Niger system.

As we travel some seven hundred miles up the Senegal River, we find ourselves within view and reach of the upper sources of the Niger. Crossing the bare hundred miles of the divide between the two watersheds, we come to Bamako on the Niger, in the colony of French Sudan. Our flight is now to be straight east, fifteen hundred miles to

Lake Chad. Our course brings us first into the northern provinces of the British territory of Nigeria, filled with memories of Lord Frederick Lugard, explorer, soldier, administrator, writer, and equally brilliant in all four rôles. Northern Nigeria, with an area larger than that of Texas, has a population of over 11,000,000, almost completely Moslem. Increasingly, as we fly toward Lake Chad, the tropical growth gives way to the desert, the Negro to the Arab, the pagan to the Moslem. Forests diminish and open stretches of an alluvial plain covered with grass or stunted trees and bushes take their place. We are flying over Sokoto and Kano, the homes of the Hausas, who gave Central Africa its most extensive *lingua franca.* Warriors they were also, of great prowess, though finally conquered by the Fulas. This is where the slave trade flourished, devastating the pagan areas farther south to secure the supply needed to satisfy the American and British traders who came up the Niger to barter, or to supply the distant northern Moslem markets that lay beyond the Sahara in Tripoli.

Lake Chad at last appears, gleaming like a huge mirror in the sun. What mystery has attached to this most central lake of Africa, a watery outpost of the tropics, fronting the dry waterless Sahara to the north!

Five hundred miles east of Lake Chad is the western boundary line of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. We have seven hundred miles yet to go to reach the Nile. Once again nature appears more bounteous. We are over the province of Darfur. To Darfur belongs the evil reputation of having been the third greatest center of the slave trade, and the

caravan route from the capital, El Fasher, all that long and death-dealing way to Assiut, Egypt, a thousand miles across the desert, has been appropriately called the Via Dolorosa of this traffic in human life.

Beyond Darfur lies Kordofan. Half a million Arabs intermixed with Negro strains give allegiance here to Islam. Thus we reach Omdurman on the Nile. A later journey will acquaint us with the extent of this great river and the significance of the country through which it flows.

Let us look back for a moment at our total crossing of Africa from west to east. It was a flight of thirty-five hundred miles, over two types of country which at points shaded into each other, luxuriant, tropical Africa, and lands with scant or intermittent water supply. We took note of fifteen million Moslems along the line of our flight, but further south were Moslem minorities whose aggregate would run into several millions. As we think of these followers of the Prophet distributed in uncounted thousands of small towns and villages scattered over this great area, the question forces itself to our lips, "What missionary drive could possibly reach all these hamlets?" Yet Islam did it and carried its faith and its civilization to all these people, who were formerly pagans.

The Sahara

We now propose to fly across the great Sahara from the White Nile to Oran in Algeria, twenty-six hundred miles, of which fifteen hundred are pure desert, hot, desolate, dangerous. And why? When the population of the Sahara is so scattered and thin that a reliable authority estimates there

is only one inhabitant to every sixty square miles, what justifies a journey across this desert? Why not omit the journey in favor of more populous countries? Three considerations hold us to this course. First, the desert is the true background of Islam. This religion and the civilization which issued from it were born there. Says André Servier, "To know and understand the Musulman, we must study Islam. To know and understand Islam, we must study the Bedouin of Arabia; and to know and understand the Bedouin, we must study the desert." [1] A second consideration is that while there are few inhabitants in the purely desert areas, there are millions of Moslems in other areas where desert conditions obtain to a very large degree, as in the Egyptian Sudan, Syria and Iran; to understand them, we must know their physical world. Finally, it is worth our while to visit the desert for our own sakes, to learn its spiritual lessons of isolation, of humility, and of helplessness. Other deserts there are in the Moslem world—those of Arabia, of Syria, of Iraq, of Iran—but none equal to the Great Sahara, three thousand miles long, a thousand miles wide, as large as continental United States.

Crossing the desert by air, one falls far short of realizing the mentality of those who must negotiate this same desert on foot or by camel, plodding patiently, steadily, fourteen to eighteen hours a day, covering only forty miles in a day, and not daring to relax in the hours of march or in forcing the pace, lest the next nearest watering place be not reached by the fatal fourth day when the camels must have water

[1] *Islam and the Psychology of the Musulman*, by André Servier, p. 14. London, Chapman & Hall, 1924.

or fall by the wayside. The whole attitude of life is, therefore, one of tension and watchfulness, of frugality and discipline and, after that, of sublime resignation. No, traveling by air one grasps all too few of the factors of desert life: the pitiless heat of the sun, the fierce glare which requires enveloping the head entirely, the "cutting friction of hot, bone-dry sand" opening painful cracks in the toes and soles of even sandaled feet, the chill of the night, the scant nourishment for man and beast, the slender protection of tent covering, the paltriness of the equipment of a tent home, the unchanging routine of life, the supreme significance of a well or of a changing rainfall, the constant uncertainty of life even with its reduction to minimum levels of existence. In the presence of desert conditions of life, the most simple Western life appears prodigiously luxurious and all talk about a minimum wage or scale of living appears absurd. If you would see life at its barest, go to the desert. To win allegiance from the dwellers in the desert Christianity must have some message for such conditions of life. What is to be the content of that message?

Our flight from the Nile to the seacoast of Algeria takes us through fifteen hundred miles of the deadliest part of the Sahara, the Libyan Desert. Some distance to the north of our line of travel is the home of the long-feared Senussis, on which many counted for a world-wide Pan-Islamic leadership; while to the south and west is the home of the veiled Tuaregs, a mysterious race, once Christian and perhaps of white origin, now Moslem and widely scattered in the most inaccessible regions of the Great Sahara.

Algeria to Egypt

We covered Africa from Senegal to the Nile to enable us to visualize Islam in the black belt of Africa and we crossed the desert to acquaint ourselves with the background of Arab life. We now cross Africa from Oran to Alexandria to survey the Mediterranean littoral, for this section of Africa has played a large part in the history of Arab civilization and has brought it into close touch and collision with European life and civilization. The reason is not far to seek, for North Africa was the Arab highway to the Moslem empire which held sway over Spain for seven centuries, and it has always been more a part of Europe than attached to Africa. The latitude of Algiers is also the latitude of Spain, of Sicily and of Greece. In the early days it was a part of the Roman Empire as it is today of France.

What a contrast this section of our air journey affords with those that have preceded! Gone is the emptiness of the Sahara; gone the puny little towns of Central Africa with five or ten thousand inhabitants. Here, in these areas, we have to do with substantial cities: Algiers, with 257,000 inhabitants, Tunis, with 202,000; Oran, with 163,000; Constantine, with 105,000; and Tripoli, with 91,000; while farther off is Cairo and its suburbs, with 1,250,000 inhabitants.

Here, too, is a country rich in historic interest, for the human occupation of North Africa antedates by many centuries the Christian era. For paleolithic discoveries, go to Tlemçen. Tebessa is none other than Theveste, founded in 300 B.C. Timgad dates back to A.D. 100; Constantine to 146 B.C. The ancient city of Carthage, whose ruins may

still be seen near Tunis, was probably founded shortly after Joshua's conquest of Canaan and his expulsion of the Phoenicians from Palestine. What historical memories this country awakens: that long and stirring story of the Punic wars; those later pathetic stories of Christian martyrdom; those unforgettable names of Christian leaders—St. Augustine and the rest. Harnack estimates that there were six hundred Christian bishoprics in North Africa at the beginning of the fifth century. Today, tombs, temples, forums, fortresses, bear silent witness to a history covering more than three millenniums, involving the fates of great warriors, of learned theologians and philosophers, of whole armies and of entire races. In successive waves of invasion and of occupation came Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Numidians, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Arabs, Berbers, and finally modern Europeans.

On this flight we cut across merely the northern edge of countries with enormous hinterlands, all almost solidly Moslem. There is Algeria, where we make our start: to match its area of 847,500 square miles, we should have to take the five largest states in the United States—Texas, California, Montana, New Mexico, Arizona—and throw in Mississippi for good measure. There is Tunisia with its 48,300 square miles. There are the Italian possessions of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, now called Libia Italiana, with 632,500 square miles. To the world of Islam, Algeria contributes 5,588,000 people, Tunisia 2,159,000 and the Italian possessions 500,356.

Viewing the earth's surface at a considerable altitude, as we take off at Oran, we experience a thrill beyond all description. To the north stretches the Mediterranean, es-

tablishing to the last limit its title to the accompanying adjective, blue. The white line of surf but helps to set it off. As for the coast, it conveys an impression of bleakness, for its hills and mountains seem to run down to the water's edge, only here and there leaving stretches of hospitable level land for human habitation. Following the coast, nine hundred miles bring us to the Italian border line. Tripolitania, save for its coastal regions, is little more than a desert. Beyond it lies Egypt.

Up the Nile

Here our journey lies along a commercial and much traveled air route. We propose to fly up the Nile, the whole length of Egypt; 750 miles from Alexandria to Wadi Halfa (950 following the river); then 850 miles (1,250 by river) to the mouth of the Sobat, whence we shall strike eastward across Ethiopia to Aden and Arabia.

The significance of Egypt to the Moslem world is very great. No country, perhaps, except Arabia itself, has meant so much to the strength and spread of Islam across the past thirteen centuries as Egypt. Its geographical location made it a distributing center, southward to the heart of Africa, westward for the conquest of North Africa. Its wealth provided an endless source of income for the maintenance of its armies and the recruiting of their personnel. Its educational centers and its accretions of learning, drawn from ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome, and accumulated during centuries in the fields of art and astronomy, philosophy and history, agriculture and medicine, supplied intellectual content to the driving religious emotionalism that emanated

from Arabia. Egypt was to Islam what the camel's hump is to the camel in its long journeys over waterless wastes, a supply of strength and vigor, especially in material resources.

To see Egypt from the air is to realize its fertility. The vivid green of the Delta, a vast equilateral triangle, each side 150 miles long, tells of land, the richest on earth, which commonly sells in normal times for $1,000 and even $2,000 an acre, merely for agricultural purposes.

Presently Cairo appears on the horizon, with its citadel silhouetted against the sky and the three black squares that bespeak the Pyramids of Gizeh. Cairo, with 1,250,000 inhabitants including its nearest suburbs, is a city of minarets; the largest city of all Africa, the largest in all the Near East; the brain center of orthodox Islam, with its Azhar mosque and theological school, older than Oxford and Cambridge, the last of the great medieval universities in which religion stands in the center of all learning and in which the sacred Koran is at once the standard for law and literature and spiritual truth.

Here at Cairo, Egypt becomes a valley, just a thread of green in a desert of sand, a valley nine miles in width on an average. We follow this valley southward, to Luxor, to Assuan, to Wadi Halfa, where the Second Cataract marks the limit of Egypt and the beginning of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is again one of those vast areas that are sparsely inhabited, partly uninhabitable. Much of it is prairie land, great stretches of cattle-grazing pasturage, capable of much greater populations than those of

today. After the Mahdi rebellions, in 1899, the population was reckoned at 750,000. Ten years before, it was reckoned at 10,000,000. Thus had slavery, wars, famine and misrule sufficed to convert this land into a "country of calamities." Today, thanks to Britain, it is thought to have a population of 5,728,000, of whom 2,500,000 are Moslem. At Khartoum, the capital of the Sudan, where the Blue Nile and the White meet, memories of General Charles Gordon are awakened. Here in 1885 he met his death in the tragic capture of Khartoum by the Mahdi forces of Islam.

South of Khartoum to the Sobat, we pass over a great prairie land, resembling Kansas or Nebraska when they were first settled. It is a hunter's paradise. From villages here and there, consisting of thatched *tukls*, the beat of the tom-tom is heard. The Negro race now predominates over the Arab, but Islam has penetrated sufficiently to make the inhabitants declare themselves Moslem. And remember, all this area, as well as Egypt, was once Christian territory.

The Nile to Arabia

A straight flight of a thousand miles almost due eastward carries us across Ethiopia, over the Somali territory, over the Straits of Bab el Mandeb, out of Africa, into Arabia and Asia.

Of supreme interest, because of its recent history, is Ethiopia—the only one of all the once Christian areas of North Africa that succeeded in resisting the various Moslem invasions and remained a nominally independent country. Now it has become the victim of the rapacity of another so-called Christian nation in Europe that covets its

great uplands and its stores of mineral wealth. But all around this core of Christian tribes that constitute the leadership of Ethiopia, the tides of Islamic penetration are creeping, so that even here are over 1,000,000 Moslems, while among the Somalis of France, of Britain and of Italy may be counted 1,300,000 more.

We leave Africa with its 60,000,000 Moslems, occupying solidly the whole of Africa north of the tenth degree north

AN AIR JOURNEY OVER THE NEAR EAST

latitude, Arab, Berber and Negro, living in mountain fastnesses, in low-lying arid desert regions, in thick tropical forests—Moslems all, scattered over a territory four thousand miles by fifteen hundred, the equivalent of twice continental United States. Easy enough is it to fly over these vast areas in our survey, but to visit each community, to cope with its difficulties of climate, of language, of friendly approach, of racial cleavage, of religious suspicion, and then to visualize effectively, attractively, practically, persuasively, the Christian religion and spirit—that is another story that challenges faith and at times seems beyond all hope.

Aden to Ankara

This section of our journey holds an important place in our survey of the Moslem world, for it carries us to the birthplace of Islam, enables us to visit three of its sacred cities—Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem—and acquaints us with what has been until recently its political center, Constantinople.

Arabia is, roughly, an enormous rectangle whose fringes alone represent habitable land. But for the semi-fertile province of Nejd which cuts across the center of this rectangle, the whole interior could be described as desert. As it is, there are two great desert areas, one to the north, the other to the south, deserts of the most hopeless, desolate sort. In contrast with such desert areas, writers describing the coastal areas have coined such epithets as "Verdant Yemen" and "Arabia Felix." And here was the cradle of Islam. We do well to observe it carefully. How did a religion and civilization which has conquered 250,000,000 of the earth's

inhabitants come into being here? Did the physical discipline of the desert contribute to its conquest over races and civilizations that had "gone soft"? Does the content of this faith reflect desert moods, important for other faiths or, on the contrary, vitiating them?

Seven hundred miles from Aden, we come upon Mecca, with a population of 85,000, which almost doubles at the season of pilgrimage. Are you surprised at its substantial houses, rising from eight to ten stories? That large enclosure is the famous mosque of pilgrimage. In its center is the Kaaba, a rectangular building containing in its wall the holy relic, supremely venerated, the Black Stone.

Two hundred and ten miles beyond Mecca is Medina, where the Prophet lies buried. The Moslem cherishes a covered grave, a buried prophet; the Christian an open tomb, a risen Lord.

Now for a long flight of six hundred miles northward to Jerusalem, the Holy City of Christian, Moslem and Jew. We leave Arabia behind, with its continental stretches of desert, its sparse fertile areas, accredited with 6,500,000 Moslems. To survey Palestine by air is to be profoundly impressed by its littleness. One can fly from one end of it to the other in less than three hours and the whole of it can be put into the space of Maryland, while its total population of about a million is still less impressive. Palestine may be the cradle of Christianity, but, for all that, over 70 per cent of its population is Moslem.

From Jerusalem to Damascus is a bare hundred and fifty miles, but it carries us over the Plain of Esdraelon, over Nazareth with its hallowed memories, over the Sea of Gali-

lee, to a city whose founding antedates Abraham's days and is today the largest city of Syria with 200,000 inhabitants, almost all Moslems. We have passed from a British mandate to a French mandate. Off the beaten tourist pathway, in Damascus, we breathe a real Oriental and Moslem atmosphere and visit a truly medieval city. But we may not linger. Suffice to note the presence of nearly 2,000,000 Moslems in Syria and their strong nationalistic zeal, to which France is today making concessions.

We now go northward to Turkey, where in the lives of 13,000,000 Moslems of today the traditions of centuries are in conflict with secularizing influences. Here a nation which was once a stronghold of Islam is seeking to modernize itself and to develop economically some three hundred thousand square miles of mountain and plain, of unexplored mineral resources and of undeveloped agricultural possibilities. So much Moslem baggage have the Turks thrown overboard—the caliphate, Islam as a state religion, the *shariat* law, the women's veil, the men's fez or turban, the observance of Friday, the dervish orders—that if they succeed in their program, it is doubtful whether one may regard the renaissance as due to Islam. Geographically, Turkey has a great field for its national experiment, for we fly over magnificent mountains—the great Taurus range—dense forests, plenty of water, mineral wealth untold, and soil of great fertility; and who has not heard of its olives and figs and tobacco?

From Damascus to Ankara (the old Angora) is a flight of over 1,300 miles. If we wish, we may chart our course to include the great historic cities of Aleppo, Antioch, Smyrna

and the place that was once Troy, and, above all, Constantinople, now called Istanbul, capital of the Roman Empire for eleven centuries and capital of the Ottoman Empire for four and a half (1453-1920). It is difficult to become reconciled to Ankara as the capital of Turkey, when we look down on Istanbul and get a glimpse of its glories of sea and land, of mosque and minaret, of palaces and fortresses, of military strategy and commercial vantage point.

Ankara to Afghanistan

First we must go south and eastward 850 miles, to Mosul and then Baghdad, for Iraq claims our attention. This takes us the whole length of Turkey and makes us realize the enormous possibilities of this land, almost half again as large as France or five times the size of all the New England states.

Iraq, or Mesopotamia, is best described as a vast plain, the watershed of the river Euphrates. As we descend from the heights of Kurdistan and view as far as eye can see the level stretches of northern Iraq, the region seems adapted to the development of a great empire. Such it was in the seventh century B.C. What historic names of places and persons crowd in upon one's imagination—Ur of the Chaldees, Babylon, Nineveh, Baghdad; Sargon, Hammurabi, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Harun al-Rashid. These all tell of happier days of prosperity and material wealth than the land reveals today. Irrigation systems that once made this area one of the greatest granaries of the world have long since disappeared. On the other hand, a vast income, less wholesome and salutary in its effects upon the life of the

people, has been exploited by the government in the oil concessions. High is the place that Baghdad has held in Islamic history. At one time hers was the primacy for influence and authority, for learning and art, in the whole world of Islam. Of course, this was in the day when Persia and Iraq formed one kingdom and the glory is perhaps Persian rather than Iraqian. Today 93 per cent of Iraq's population of 2,857,000 are Moslems. Yet at one time Iraq was reckoned as Christian territory.

From Baghdad, our course is east and then north, through Iran and then on to Turkestan. It is only some 450 miles from Baghdad to Teheran, the capital of Iran, but it is enough to change the scenery completely and to lift us altogether out of the lowlands to highlands where range after range of mountains, five thousand and even ten thousand feet high, must be crossed in succession. As in Turkey, the impression deepens, mile after mile, that Iran possesses mountainous areas of unexplored resources, with lumbering and mining as future possibilities. To be sure, vast stretches are desert lands without value, but our flight carries us over Kermanshah, a city of 40,000 inhabitants, and Hamadan with 30,000. There are other cities to the north and the south—Tabriz (180,000), Isfahan (100,000), and Meshed (85,000), besides the capital, Teheran, with its 350,000 inhabitants. These all help to tell us that we are in a land with a settled population, and therefore with the equipment for a great civilization. These cities are only the foci for a total population now estimated at 10,000,000. Of these, 7,500,000 are Shiite Moslems and 850,000 are Sunnites. But this population is evidently only a mere fraction of what the country

could sustain, for it is the vast size of Iran that overwhelms one. To realize the total area of this Moslem country, picture to yourself the three great states that front the Pacific—Washington, Oregon, California—and the next three states that lie behind them—Idaho, Nevada, Arizona—add these together and you get some conception of its size. In the new day that has dawned in Iran, are the future possibilities of this great nation to be Islamic in character? That a splendid future lies ahead is certain. What shall it be?

Three points of great significance for Islam characterize Iran. It belongs largely to the Shiite branch of Islam, and is therefore regarded as heretical by the remaining 240,000,000 Moslems of the world. Also it marks the outstanding conquest by Islam of any considerable section of the Aryan race; may its Aryan character explain the unstable loyalty of Iran to a religion preeminently Arab? Finally, it contributed to Islam one of the most brilliant developments of its history, the Abbasid caliphate.

To take cognizance of a still more distant world of over 5,000,000 Moslems, our airplane journey takes us 600 miles northeast to Soviet Central Asia, to what was formerly West Turkestan, now part of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. A sturdy race is here—no longer Arabs or Berbers or Negroes, but Turkestan tribes and Uzbeks and Kirghiz, all Sunnite Moslems, nominally at least. Still more interesting is the fact that we are passing over one of those great natural continental outlets through which, under Mongol pressure surging westward, whole tribes and peoples were emptied out of Central Asia into Persia and on into Asia Minor. Here, for example, are found the racial origins

of the Ottoman Turk. At Tashkent, perhaps the largest city of Central Asia, with a teeming population of 700,000, we turn southward again, flying, as has never yet been done, over those giant mountain ranges of Central Asia, 500 miles to Kabul in far Afghanistan. As we pass so swiftly and easily over these great distances of almost impassable mountain and desert ranges, the question repeats itself again, With what mighty dynamic and driving power did Islam succeed in penetrating, painfully and on foot, these continental areas, establishing itself so firmly in the lives of men?

Afghanistan and North India

To the popular imagination, Afghanistan makes a unique appeal by reason of the traditions which have grown to be part of its heritage: its mountain fastnesses are considered impregnable; its fierce Pathan warriors are accredited with super-courage; its Islamic loyalties are thought to be fanatical to the last degree; add to this the belief, long held, that through Afghanistan the Russian Bear would some day lay its all-powerful paw upon British India. Some of these traditions have been weakened by the break-up of Old Russia and by the appearance, for a while, of a ruler of Afghanistan and his wife at European spas and at English Derby races, both dressed in the most modish Parisian garb. For all that, the influence and prestige of Afghanistan in the Moslem world is beyond all computation and far exceeds the mere fact that here are 11,000,000 Moslems. Grand and awe inspiring is the scenery. We look down on valleys of indescribable beauty. Ranges of mountains nine thousand feet high are backed by individual snow-capped summits

twice as high. Undeveloped mineral resources are here: copper, lead, iron, gold and the finest lapis-lazuli in the world. Again the two questions face us: How was Islam carried to this roof country of Asia? Will Islam be the dominating factor in the future development of the nation?

From Kabul, Afghanistan, across the north of India to the mouth of the river Ganges is 1,600 miles. Our flight across this area is not meant to claim the whole of India for the Moslem world. Of India's 353,000,000 people, only 78,000,000 are Moslem, but for the most part they are in

AN AIR JOURNEY OVER SOUTHERN ASIA

the north. By flying across four northern provincial areas —the Northwest Frontier, the Punjab, the United Provinces, and Bengal—and with the great state of Kashmir to the north of us, we shall look down upon more than 53,000,000 Moslems and note the land which they possess. And it is the most fertile and the most populous part of India, plains watered by India's two great rivers, the Indus and the Ganges, a vast area one-fourth larger than France. The Moslem occupation of this northern section of India is chiefly due to geographical proximity, for the wave of Islamic invasion debouched from Afghanistan in the eleventh century under Mahmud of Ghazni and swept across to the mouth of the Ganges River.

Over great cities we fly: Rawalpindi (119,284), Lahore (429,747), Amritsar (264,840), Delhi (447,442), Agra (229,764), Cawnpore (243,755), Lucknow (274,659), Allahabad (183,914), Benares (205,315), Calcutta (1,485,582). So great is the population in this area that it exceeds 500 to the square mile, and 55 per cent of it is Moslem. Flying low, village after village of mud huts discloses itself, bespeaking the presence of a teeming population. Yet to the 53,000,000 we have just surveyed in North India, we must add the more than 24,000,000 scattered over other provinces and states. At last we leave India and with it this intolerable burden of numbers. We put out to sea. Our objective is Malaysia. We must fly over 1,200 miles to reach Sumatra.

Netherlands East Indies and the Philippines

Sumatra is an island of magnificent mountains and fertile plains. Eleven hundred miles long, with an average width

of 150 miles and sustaining a population of 7,661,399, it is under the rule of the Netherlands. Nominally the great majority of the inhabitants are Moslem, but it is Islam of a feeble sort.

Beyond Sumatra lies Java, similar in physical appearance. From tip to tip is a flight of more than 600 miles, a country of small villages or *dessas*. The total population of Java and Madura, a small island off its coast, now reaches 41,718,335. These are all nominally Moslem, but real Islamic beliefs and practices as distinguished from those of animism appear only after one ascends a little way in the social scale. Still we need to remember that fully one-tenth, often one-fifth, of the pilgrims visiting Mecca each year are Javanese. The length of the journey, its cost, its perils, all testify to a deep devotion to Islam dominating the Javanese Moslems, of whom there are at least 30,000,000.

We swing northward for the ending of our journey, past Borneo where only one-third of the population is Moslem, 1,700 miles to the Philippine Islands. It is a long journey to take for sentimental reasons. But here in the Sulu Archipelago and in Mindanao is the one bit of the Islamic world under the American flag: half a million Moros, unbelievably primitive, of Malay origin. Thus ends our twenty-five thousand mile flight over the Moslem world.

Untouched Territory

We have limited our journey almost exclusively to areas where Islam is in the ascendancy, but there are at least 15,000,000 to be added to the millions we have taken note of. These are minorities in the areas in which they live:

200,000 in the Camerouns, 300,000 in Liberia, 1,515,000 in Belgian Congo, 9,000,000 in China—just to mention some of the larger Moslem populations in areas into which Islam has penetrated as a minority group.

What Does It All Signify?

We have gone in our air journey more than one-third of the way around the world. Had we kept a straight course instead of zigzagging, it would have carried us clear around the earth even at the equator. We have tried to visualize 250,000,000 Moslems and the lands they inhabit. Our journey has carried us north to the steppes of Central Asia and south to the tropical forests of the Niger. We have used the swiftest mode of travel today and limited our course to areas where the Moslem population preponderates, yet it has taken us thirty days. What does it all signify?

We have sought to grasp, if possible, the vast extent of the Moslem world today, to measure the quantitative side of the problem before us as Christians when we talk of serving, or reaching, or evangelizing the Moslem world. Recall then this journey which has carried us to the homes of Russian, Indian, Malay, Arab, Berber, Mongolian and Negro races, to regions where no white man or Christian has ever been. Remember that the journey we have pictured has never been taken and, even if it might be made by air, it is quite certain that it would be beyond all possibility by automobile or by camel or even on foot. How then can such a world be touched by influences that are foreign to its own life? Thirteen centuries of infiltration have carried Islam to all those remote and inaccessible areas. Military

conquests, commercial ventures, missionary propaganda, purposeful effort and purposeless chance, marriage and slavery, martyrdom and force—these all have lent a hand, for thirteen centuries, until today Islam, a great religious empire, spans the two largest continents of the globe and embraces one-seventh of the human race. It has become domesticated in the life of the desert Arab, of the mountaineer in Algeria, of the dweller in the great cities of Asia and Africa. To them it is meat and drink; it determines the law for personal conduct, the rules for home life, the standards for social life and the code for intertribal and interracial action. It is the only well for spiritual drink from which they or their fathers have drawn for centuries. As we face this far-flung, self-sufficient, for the most part untouched, Moslem world, what is it we are proposing to do for it that will be the counsel not of despair nor of presumption, but of Christian faith and hope and love?

Chapter Two

MOSLEM FOLK: THEIR WAY OF LIVING

WE have been looking at the Moslem world from the sky: a vast, far-flung empire, embracing 250,000,000 people. We have been looking at it quite impersonally, as constituting nations and geographical regions. We have been too far away to distinguish individuals or even communities. Now we come to earth to see how Moslem folk live, what their world is like; to ask, What is a Moslem's way of thinking, acting, being?

But can such questions be answered? Will the answer not depend upon the country in which we alight? When we think of the wide extremes of distance and of thought, of conditions and of race, that separate the famine-driven nomad of Arabia from the Negro in the tropical forests of Africa, and, again, both of these from the cultured, French-educated Turk sitting in the League of Nations as representative of his country, is it not evident that no composite picture of the Moslem is possible? Are there not variations that defy all generalization? Could we reverse the situation, for example, and describe the Western Christian to the Oriental Moslem?

Despair as we may of drawing either picture accurately, the fact remains that there are certain basic features that

characterize the conception which each holds of the other: the Western Christian of the Moslem, and the Oriental Moslem of the Christian. And because this picture of an Oriental Moslem approximates the truth even today for three-fourths of those who are adherents of Islam, we may at least start with it, making full reservation for modifying comments later in the book; indeed, we will give the modernized Moslem a whole chapter.[1] Let us then visit a typical Moslem community, perchance an Oriental city, wander about and make our observations, but let our eyes be those of human interest and sympathy, for only through love and sympathy can one understand. We shall note both lights and shadows.

Mosques and Minarets

Naturally we begin with externals. That which, outstandingly, gives character to a Moslem city are its mosques and minarets. There they are, everywhere, whether they be the square minarets of Morocco and Algeria, or the completely rounded needles piercing the blue of Istanbul, or the minarets, diversified in shape and embellished with balconies, of Cairo, or the soft white columns that flank the Taj Mahal in India. Photograph any Oriental city street and somewhere against its narrow sky line Islam will have its minaret, as a sort of artist's proof, to lay claim to this city and community as loyal to Allah and the Prophet. If, while you are gazing upward, the melodious voice of the *muezzin* is heard crying out, "God is great . . . Come to prayer . . . God is great," you will experience an indescribable thrill, and if

[1] See Chapter Five, "Ferment and Revolution."

you enter into the spirit of the Moslem's worship of the great and omnipotent God, it will do you no harm as a Christian; and it may help you to understand the heart of a devout Moslem.

Yet we should observe that neither dome nor minaret is essential to a Moslem mosque. They were later developments of Moslem art and architecture. The most typical feature of a mosque is an enclosure open to the sky, with porches on one or on all sides. On the side toward Mecca, however, the porch is deeper, or there is even a roofed building, perhaps a domed structure, where prayer is offered. In the wall is the *mihrab*, or niche, indicating the *qibla*, the direction of Mecca. Somewhere, in the court or in an adjoining structure, is the tank or fountain for ablutions.

But the most striking fact about the mosque is its proximity to the busy life of the community and the vital place it occupies in the life of the community. No closed buildings here, awaiting some special day for Sunday programs. Its portals are always open; rarely is it empty; at the hours of prayer, especially at the noon and evening hours, it is thronged with people. It is a place of rest; also a place of worship. Five times a day sounds the call to prayer: at dawn, at noon, at mid-afternoon, at sunset and at about two hours after sunset. It may also serve, however, as a school, apart from the hours of prayer; one corner may even be endowed as a medical dispensary, another corner as a bread dispensary. The mosque is integrated into the life of the people, located close to the busy mart of daily life, a part of the equipment for daily life.

To visit a mosque is to be introduced to Arab architecture, with its round or pointed horseshoe arches, its stalactite pendants, its use of Arabic script for decorations, and its endlessly diversified use of geometrical figures. Here was a religion that forbade or discouraged any representation of human or animal life, lest it should lead to idolatry. As a result Arab art gushed through geometrical channels and gave the world designs, all geometrical or floral, that are the joy and the despair of the Western decorator.

As we stand under the spell of mosque and minaret our minds travel to Europe and the West with their Gothic cathedrals. How far away they seem, how different! If the Moslem world caught the spirit of Jesus, could it not keep its lovely mosques and its graceful minarets? Could it not retain its five prayers daily and the summons to prayer by the musical notes of a human call?

The Grace and Dignity of Costume and Movement

Our attention shifts from buildings to beings. How strange, to begin with, are the costumes of the Moslem Orient! And what grace and dignity in pose and stride! Perhaps it is the women whose movement we admire most. That long measured tread, like the stately stride of king or queen, is probably due to the custom of carrying loads on the head, which makes for a perfect carriage—just as a mother in the West would make her daughter learn to walk with a book on her head.

Argue as we may for the Western garb of coat and trousers as more efficient for athletics and action, the fact remains that when we wish to stage an academic procession featur-

ing dignity and impressiveness, we, too, revert to gowns. Thus dignity pervades all of life in the Orient.

Atmosphere of Leisure and Repose

More subtle than costume and clothing is another feature of the Moslem's way of living: the atmosphere of leisure and repose. Nothing affords such a contrast as this to our Western spirit of hurry and tension. See yonder merchant, cross-legged, smoking his *narghile*, awaiting his first customer? Are you a visitor to rug store or jewelry shop? You are invited to sit down, perchance you will drink coffee. Any business transaction of size and consequence, which in the West would be settled by a single visit, may take days to consummate. You stop in the street to shake hands, where in the West you give a friendly gesture as you pass on. Do you wonder that in such a world, Western abruptness and "Christian" discourtesies are repellent and resented? Leisure is an ingredient of human friendliness and the Moslem is prodigal with both. "Hurry," says his proverb, "is of the devil." And again, "God is with the patient." Is this atmosphere of repose soothing or maddening? Is it a factor in human happiness or does it contribute to indolence and decay? Would Christianity tear it away or refine it?

Imagery of Thought and Language

If your ear is attuned to the language of the country, you will note the imagery of thought and speech in the Moslem Orient. It features common conversations. It is a requirement of all literary style. It reaches its height in the Koran.

By the chargers that pant,
And the hoofs that strike fire,
And the scourers at dawn,
Who stir up the dust with it,
And cleave through a host with it!
—Sura 100

Here is a letter, typical of such imagery of thought and speech, which was written by a *kadi*, or judge, to an *imam*, one of the Moslem clergy, in behalf of Ameen Rihani, the author and traveler:

In the name of Allah the merciful, the compassionate. Allah prolong the reign of Mowlana, the controller of our affairs, prince of the faithful and the luminary of creation, the dependent on Allah. Peace upon him and the mercy of Allah and his blessings, to be ever repeated.

It is first to make salaam and to kiss the palm of Mowlana the *Imam*. This is sent with the *sayyid*, Ameen Rihani, . . . whose arrival at Aden and whose desire to visit the noble seat has already been reported by the slave of your eminence. He carries much knowledge and wisdom in his breast which he would lay before the noble seat. He also bears much love for the Arabs. Of a certainty, he is a man of many excellences. The *mutanabby* of his time and the prince of those who take by the forelock the rhyme. . . . More, I presume not to say. It is not for the like of me to offer counsel to the like of you. For Allah hath illuminated your heart, so you know the real worth of every man and you give him more than his due. May Allah through you direct our affairs. Peace be upon you.

From the slave,
Abdullah'l-'Arashi.[1]

[1] *Arabian Peak and Desert*, by Ameen Fares Rihani, p. 14. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930.

Veil and Lattice

Next to mosque and minaret as a distinguishing mark of an Oriental Moslem city are veil and lattice. Whatever these may signify of limitation placed upon woman's freedom—and on that we shall comment later—it cannot be denied that they convey a certain quality of mystery which so manifestly is a part of Oriental life and mentality as to deserve recognition. The Orient hides its life and thought. It is not only woman that is veiled or hidden behind lattice windows and high walls; it is an attitude of mind that governs life as a whole. "The impenetrable Orient!" we exclaim. Mark the greetings. Rarely do men look into each other's faces with long and steady gaze. There is the recurring glance; then the far-away look. You inquire about health, and the reply is, "Praise be to God." You are left to judge by the tone what the situation is.

Thought and speech and life have their reserves, their great unuttered deeps, to a much greater extent with Orientals than with us. Does this grow out of the mystery of the desert, the birthplace of Islam? Is it the natural product of a religion that stresses an inscrutable God? Is it the minor tone of lives steeped in limitation and sorrow? Veil and lattice are symbols as well as actualities in the Moslem world. We cannot quite picture Christianity tearing away the beautiful latticework of Islamic art and substituting in its place the ugly open windows of the West and their uglier shutters; so too we sense here a certain quality of life which, when freed from every implication of evil and limitation, will be cherished for its enrichment and refinement of life.

It is a long story as to how the veiling and seclusion of women came into prominence in Moslem city life, but we need to remember that city folk are in the minority in any population. In the country, the peasant women go unveiled. In the desert, women are generally unveiled, as are those among the poorer classes in the city; while the veil is steadily disappearing, save as a conventional dress, among the higher social levels of society.

Hospitality

Here is a crowning virtue of Moslem peoples generally, but of desert folk in particular. Says Paul Harrison, "As a host, the Bedouin has no peer. The unaffected joy that is shown at the opportunity of entertaining a guest may well serve as a model for those of us who come from the more practical and unfriendly West."[1] And Palgrave testifies to the way in which they live up to the welcome voiced by one of their poets who wrote:

Welcome to him of whose approach I am all unworthy,
Welcome to the voice announcing joy after lonely melancholy,
Good tidings thine; off with the robes of sadness, for know
Thou art accepted, and I myself will take on me whatsoever grieves thee.

Ascribed to the Prophet is the saying, "Whosoever believeth in God and the day of resurrection must respect his guest, and the time of being kind to him is one day and one night, and the period of entertaining him is three days,

[1] *The Arab at Home*, by Paul W. Harrison, p. 26. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1924.

and after that, if he doth it longer, he benefiteth him more." So obligatory are the laws of hospitality that, rather than fail in their observance, poor tribes and families in the desert are constrained to move out of the lines of caravans and visitors, because the drain of hospitality would spell starvation to them.

The warm welcome given in the Orient to a visitor and the repeated greeting, "*Ahlan wa sahlan*" ("Welcome"), are not easily forgotten, because marked by such evident sincerity. The invitation to the passing friend to come in and share the meal; the offer to the fellow traveler, stranger though he be, of a portion of the lunch eaten on the train, are all witnesses of this spirit of hospitality that makes Moslem folk attractive and gracious.

Feasts and Festivals

Until you live with Moslem people or in a Moslem community, you can scarcely realize to what extent their year is punctuated with feasts and festivals. In the Egyptian Moslem calendar there are twenty-four such yearly holiday periods, of which thirteen are recognized by the government; legal holidays we should call them, although some of them cover several days. And this is not counting the weekly relaxation of Fridays, the official weekly day of rest, nor days off for special family celebrations of births and deaths, of circumcision and marriage, of departure of friends for the pilgrimage and their welcome on returning. E. W. Lane's *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*[1] gives eighty pages to describing

[1] New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1908. (Everyman's Library.)

such feasts and festivals. How the family prepares for these occasions—for the more important, at least! How the children count the days till they come! On the more significant festivals, the whole family leaves home, if it be but for a day, to visit the country or some fair or some relation. Then the children are decked out in their best dresses, green and red and blue and yellow satin, unforgettably vivid in an Oriental sun. One hears them singing those songs, so unlike ours, in which some self-appointed leader sings a line and all the rest make answer in unison, while a steady clapping of hands beats time and increases the merriment. What matter if the lines make no sense; the crazier the funnier. Happy childhood! Would that its joys ran deeper and its days were longer in these Moslem lands.

Some of the feasts and festivals have their counterpart in the Christian calendar, although with entirely different significance and programs. There is the *Moolid en Nebi*, which celebrates the birth of their prophet. There is Ramadan, the ninth month of the Mohammedan year, which is more severe than our Lent in its observance of abstinence from food. There are harvest home festivals and the celebrations of springtime. These more or less distant analogies may make their festivals understandable to us. The greatest wonder is that Moslem peoples, often poor beyond our farthest imagining, can draw so much happiness out of life.

Pervading Sense of God

It may be boldly asserted that no people in the world give the impression of being so religiously minded as do Moslems. All of life is saturated with the consciousness of God.

Whether God is properly conceived of or not, whether his character is distorted or not, one thing is certain: he has to do with man's life in all its details. And his presence and power are everywhere recognized.

Current greetings constantly mention him: "May God grant you peace," "May God bless you," "God protect you," "God have mercy on you," "God heal you." Exclamations that punctuate conversation constantly refer to him: "God be praised," "If God be willing," "May God forgive," "What has God been pleased to do (or make)." Good wishes and appeals for help are formulated with reference to him: "God open the way for you," "God prosper you," "My supper is on you, O God" (this last, a beggar's repeated cry).

The stated withdrawal of men for prayer deepens this recognition of God in daily life. In the midst of a transaction, of a visit in the home or café, a man will break away to say his prayer.

But far beyond these customs and phrases, which give external recognition to God, is the deep, underlying attitude toward life which makes God the author of every event great or small. To quote Paul Harrison:

> There are no secondary causes. Traveling across the Syrian desert, I pointed out a low hill in the distance apparently directly in our line of march and asked the pious camelman how long it would take to reach it.
>
> "God knows," was his brief reply.
>
> "Yes, certainly," I replied, "but how long will it take to get there?"
>
> "The journey is in the hands of God," was his pious but somewhat unsatisfactory answer.

"I have no intention of denying that," I insisted, "but how long do you think it will take to get there?"

"Don't talk this way," expostulated the man. "Who knows whether we will ever get there? If God ordains, we will all die before we get that far. The future is in God's hands, and it is infidelity to attempt to penetrate it in this way. There is no god but God."[1]

At no point does the Moslem's life so challenge us as Christians as just here. Aware as we are of the secularization of our Western life, until in everyday experience God has been seemingly banished from thought and excluded from consideration in both our explanations and our decisions, one asks what it is that we can give to the Moslem that will not rob his life of this pervading sense of God's presence and power.

So far we have purposely looked at that side of Moslem life that charms and attracts, for one never can truly help unless one first loves. Nor is the picture false because of our approach. Moslem people are essentially lovable, whether it is the Arab of the desert, the Negro of the tropics, the polished young modernist of North Africa, the Iranian or the Indian. Approach them with some ministry of unselfish service and in the spirit of genuine friendliness and you will find their hearts responsive and marked by rich human qualities.

However, any study of the Moslem's way of living reveals shadows, as well as lights, and the shadow is perhaps the Christian's greatest opportunity.

[1] *The Arab at Home,* by Paul W. Harrison, p. 206.

Meagerness of Physical Life

Think of the regions we surveyed in the first chapter of this book. How desolate the desert, and how much of the Moslem world was desert or bordering on desert! Read Buchanan or Palgrave or Doughty or Lawrence or Harrison and your emotions swing between admiration and pity, as you picture the Bedouin's infinite capacity for fortitude and courage and the meagerness of a life whose daily ration is a handful of dates and a drink of milk, if Allah be merciful enough to maintain even this supply.

Other land is mountainous, like that of Morocco and Algeria, of Turkey and Iran, of Turkestan and Afghanistan, but here, too, human life seems to be almost at starvation levels: small primitive habitations cling to the mountain side, flocks of sheep or goats are seen on level strips. These spell bare existence, but of language, literature, art, science, civilization generally, there is no trace, nor can these come when life is so insecure that it is nothing but one continuous struggle for mere existence. And yet there are boundless mineral resources untapped; and through storage systems water would be available from the torrential showers that now run off uselessly to the desert or sea.

There remain the fertile regions like Egypt and North India, the Mediterranean littoral or the Mesopotamian plains; great centers, too, where industry and commerce, usually under some Western protectorate, have given to the people some taste of privilege and wealth. Yet even here wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few. The daily wage of the laborer in the Nile Valley has approximated

twenty-five cents a day; now, in this depression, it is but fifteen. And that is for himself and his family! This condition exists in the most fertile country on earth.

Where poverty is abject one may expect a lack of cleanliness. Cleanliness is a luxury in lands where water is hard to get and where there is no margin for the purchase of soap. With poverty goes ignorance, and with poverty and ignorance goes disease. It is a vicious chain. There is no space to picture here what disease spells in lowering the efficiency of a community by adding the load of diseased humanity to the heavy load under which the rest of the community is already staggering. Nor can the story be told of the excruciating pain and suffering needlessly borne by men, women and children because of the absence of medical care. Poverty and its handmaid, sickness, cast their shadow across almost every Moslem land.

Missed Privileges of Childhood

We have spoken of the festival parties of children and their merry songs, for Moslem children are not different in nature or spirit from children in other lands. Life to them is a joyous thing. Yet there is another side to the picture. We know that in our own underprivileged communities there are thousands who have scant measure of all that is the just right of childhood. In infinitely greater measure yet do Moslem children miss what should be theirs. It is chiefly what belongs to the years of twelve to twenty of which they are robbed; these years that should spell freedom from care, playtime and exercise, education and reading; these years that are so crucial in physical development,

character training and the blossoming of youth into wholesome womanhood and manhood.

In the average Moslem community marriage and the responsibilities of adult life are allowed to crowd in upon children quite early in their teens. This operates, in the case of girls especially, in arrested mental development and often in physical suffering for life.

Naturally, where physical poverty presses hardest, it is the children who suffer the most. Infant mortality reaches appalling levels and children's diseases become extremely prevalent. Life becomes a struggle in which the strongest survive. For example, out of every 103 babies born in Cairo each day, 27 will be dead before a year passes, as compared with 7 in New York City; and five years later, 51 will be gone, though New York will have lost only 11 in comparison; and at thirty years of age, of the 52 still living, 41 will be suffering from hookworm, tuberculosis, and venereal and eye diseases, so that only 11 out of the original 103 can be classified as "not unhealthy." And the pathetic feature of all this suffering and these disabilities is that they are unnecessary, avoidable. Education has wiped them out of individual lives; it could wipe them out of the life of any nation.

Another common disability of Moslem childhood almost everywhere is the unavoidable exposure to the unwholesome atmosphere of the harem during the early and most impressionable years. The degree of coarseness to which conversation descends, the extent to which sexual matters are the subject of discussion, and the amount of intrigue that is plotted in the average harem are such as to fill one's heart with sorrow as we picture such homes as the first, and often

only, schools of knowledge, morals and religion for most Moslem children.

In lands and communities where schools do exist and where better economic conditions make education possible, even here, the mechanical type of education offered by the state seems to stunt the mind and rob Moslem youth of its natural alertness and spontaneous character.

Supremely in respect to Moslem children, the Christian has much to give to the Moslem world.

Woman's Rights and Wrongs

How difficult it is to draw a true and acceptable picture of woman in the Moslem world. There are homes where she is educated, cultured, possessing freedom, surrounded with love, controlling her own wealth. We know of such. But it is just the narrow fringe, thin as a line, where the Moslem world touches the Western world, and where Moslem traditions and customs, world-wide and centuries-long, have been cast off. Yet because it is this rare type that the tourist and visitor to Moslem lands usually sees today on a world cruise, he often imagines that the missionary has painted the picture of Moslem womanhood in darker colors than are true. So let us take this utterance of a Moslem jurist whose life work aided greatly the uplift of womanhood in Egypt. Describing woman's condition in the Moslem world, he wrote:

> Man is the absolute master and woman the slave. She is the object of his sensual pleasures, a toy, as it were, with which he plays, whenever and however he pleases. Knowledge is his, ignorance is hers. The firmament and the light

are his, darkness and the dungeon are hers. His is to command, hers is to obey blindly. His is everything that is, and she is an insignificant part of that everything.[1]

Or again, if you wish to discount the foregoing as the rhetorical outburst of a fiery reformer, take this preface to a sober thesis on the condition of woman in Islam by a Moslem professor in the Egyptian University:

This work has for its theme the condition of woman in the Moslem world. The strange life imposed upon Moslem woman has for a long time been noted by Europeans. Literary writers speak of the "disenchanted" of harem life; ethnographers depict ignorant, brutalized women, subjected to the passions of man. . . . Hence the importance of those developments devoted to the study of her seclusion. On the other hand, the question of woman and her emancipation is the order of the day in progressive Mohammedan lands. Moslems have realized the need of reforming their customs and the conditions of their social life. And, in this reform, the condition of woman is in the front rank of importance.[2]

These quotations will suffice to show that in the judgment of those who know conditions best, there is much that is wrong in the position of Moslem woman and we must not be misled by romantic descriptions of her life and condition within circles that barely represent one per cent of the Moslem world.

For Moslem womanhood, life's calendar may be roughly

[1] Kasim Ameen, quoted in *Our Moslem Sisters*, by Annie Van Sommer and Samuel M. Zwemer, p. 7. New York, Fleming H. Revell Co., 1907.

[2] From a doctorate thesis by Professor Mansur Fahmy.

marked off as follows: childhood ends at about fifteen; motherhood usually begins at sixteen, and is followed by from five to ten experiences of childbirth, with most of the children dying in infancy; the bloom of life has passed at thirty; death commonly comes near fifty.

Marriage is the first important event in the Moslem woman's life. Commonly the selection of a husband lies with her parents and often she does not see the chosen one until the night of the wedding. This is not to deny the pleasure and excitement of this great adventure: her careful noting of all that is said about him, the possible glimpses of him through lattice windows if he visits the house, the gossip of servants about him and his family, the assurances of parents; then the gaiety of wedding preparations, the new dresses, the felicitations of friends, the wedding feastings, the departure for the groom's home, the first experiences with his family. Like a mixed melody combining notes of joy and an undertone of fear and sadness, the days of transition from girlhood to married life pass. And now the question is, Will there be a boy? Not merely a child, but a *boy?* She may attain a possible position of influence if she bears a son who grows up, marries and brings his wife to the home.

Here the darkest shadow that falls on Moslem womanhood begins to appear. It is polygamy and divorce. We shall discuss later to what extent religion is responsible for it, but here we face it as an existing, cruel, undeniable fact in the life of Moslem woman. All the years of her marriage are filled with fears, sometimes realized, sometimes not, that other wives will be brought in or that she herself will be

divorced. Even so constant a defender of Moslem conditions as S. H. Leeder remarks:

> Divorce, and the fear of it—this is the black cloud over woman's existence in Egypt of which she is most conscious. In many of the humble village homes there is a constant dread of a second wife appearing. . . . The number of prayers, and charms, and special praying places, and sheikhs' tombs, to avert childlessness, is incredible; not only for the love of children, but again in view of the horror of divorce, for which childlessness is sufficient reason.[1]

The procedure for divorce is very simple. A man need only say to his wife, "I divorce thee." Legally, he should give her a sum of money equal to one-third of her dowry, but frequently she is unable to get this. Her only recourse is to go back to her relatives; sometimes she has none. The pathetic outworking of this system cannot be brought forward in any brief statement. Its tragedy is suggested in such books as *Thamilla* (The Turtle-dove), by Ferdinand Duchêne, which won the Grand Literary Prize for Algeria and whose appeal and authority are the greater because he was a justice in the Court of Appeals of Algiers. Other such books are those touching sketches by Pierre Loti, *Les Désenchantées*, or those by A. R. de Lens, *Le Harem Entr'ouvert.*

All those who have caught glimpses of Moslem womanhood at its best—with its deeps of love and loyalty, its unutterably sweet motherly spirit, its endowment for sympathy and service, its unmeasured capacity for patience and

[1] *Veiled Mysteries of Egypt and the Religion of Islam,* by S. H. Leeder, p. 356. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

suffering—will long to see these blighting shadows removed. As David Livingstone called down heaven's blessing on Arab, Christian or Turk who would help heal the open sore of Africa by the suppression of slavery, so would we invoke God's blessing on those forces of Islamic leadership, Western enlightenment and Christian missionary influence that are helping to emancipate Moslem womanhood.

Where Human Minds Stagnate

The glories of learning and of art that stand to the credit of Moslem peoples in the past form a story by themselves and have no place, save by contrast, in the picture we are drawing of Moslem peoples today. That was a dazzling and richly diversified civilization which blossomed in Baghdad under the Abbasids, in Spain under the Omayyads, and in Cairo under Saladin. What fields of learning were explored: astronomy and medicine, architecture and philosophy, literature and history, law and theology, geography and industry. How different the situation today! If we limit ourselves merely to the basic and primary test of literacy, our findings are appalling: in Egypt, only 11.7 per cent can read; in Turkey, 15 per cent; in Syria, 20 per cent; in India, out of the 78,000,000 Moslems, about 3,000,000 are literate; in Arabia, Ibn Saoud claims that 75 per cent of the male population can read the Koran, but there are no statistics to support so remarkable a claim.

However, literacy may not be the final test of the intelligence of any people. No, the supreme limitation to mental development among Moslem peoples is the absence of vital and useful knowledge. Barring the modern and Westernized

school, what is the content of the school curriculum in a strictly Moslem education? There is the Koran; it stands supremely at the center; around this, the Tradition; around the Tradition, the commentaries and historical records of the intervening centuries as these deal with three great subjects: (*a*) Moslem law; (*b*) Arabic literature; (*c*) Moslem religious faith and practice. The great world of natural science is for most Moslem peoples today a closed book. In the weary round of theological discussions and of quotations from tradition, the human mind has lost its freshness and initiative, its creativeness and spirit of inquiry; it stagnates and becomes paralyzed.

One of the most thrilling experiences imaginable is to give to this Moslem mind its chance, by emancipating it from the shackles of traditional and formal learning, by exposing it to the quickening influence of free scientific study and research, and by giving to it Christ's call to rise and think, to examine and discover a Father's universe, whose laws lead to a truer and richer knowledge of him.

When God Frowns

No more striking difference will be noticed between our Western Christian world and the Oriental Moslem world than in respect to the atmosphere of hope that prevails in the former and the stolid resignation that marks the latter. The dead weight of custom and the calm acceptance of the *status quo* seem to cut the nerve of all initiative and progress in the Moslem. And all this is due to his fatalistic conception that misfortune is an inscrutable decree of God. When God frowns, what can man do?

A traditional teaching handed down by Al-Bukhari runs as follows: "The first thing which God created was a pen, and he said to it, 'Write'; it said, 'What shall I write?' and God said, 'Write down the quantity of every individual thing to be created,' and it wrote all that was and that will be, to eternity." So, as one moves among Moslem peoples, one gets the impression that they are chained by invisible shackles, that their wills are repressed from free action by some powerful restraints, that they are dully resigned to suffering and evils of all sorts. Has the twelfth child died of disease, the reaction is that it could not be otherwise, unless perchance a more powerful amulet could have been discovered or some more effective magical rite observed. Thus fear, undefined and for that very reason more far-reaching, dominates everyday life.

This fatalistic attitude makes not only for fear but for irresponsibility. "The dish broke itself." "The key lost itself." Such are the everyday replies of a Moslem servant to the complaint of his master. In cholera days, the Moslem section of the population in Syria is known to have suffered more severely than the Christian because with Moslem fatalism they refused to climb the hills to an altitude that seemed to be free from cholera. "What do you do when you are sick?" asked Ameen Rihani of an Arabian leader. "I await the mercy of Allah," he replied. "And what do you do with smallpox cases? Do you seclude the patients?" "No. They to whom Allah would give the disease cannot escape it, even though the diseased one be removed from their midst." [1]

[1] *Arabian Peak and Desert*, by Ameen Fares Rihani, p. 51.

What Warneck says of fatalism among the Battaks may be repeated here to show how deep a shadow it casts on Moslem life. "Fatalism . . . negates man's will, that in which he resembles God. It kills man's nobler nature and degrades him to a piece of mechanism. . . . Moral will is destroyed. . . . The soil wherein the human conscience grows is taken away." [1]

When Passion and Fury Rage

In a recent lecture, a former governor of a leading prison in Egypt testified to the frequency of murders due to inter-village and interfamily feuds. Similar testimony is borne in other lands to the devastating effect of the spirit of revenge. The law of retaliation often maintains this communal warfare for several generations, innocent descendants at times paying with their lives for some injury committed decades before. This evil was rampant in Arabia in the days of Mohammed and he sought to abate it by providing for monetary settlements. Instructions for such settlements appear both in the Koran and in the Tradition; but it was not regulations that were needed so much as a new spirit.

In bold, although necessarily sketchy, strokes we have noted some of the chief characteristics of the Moslem way of living. Lights and shadows! The lights afford a picture of human life and character with qualities which we want to see preserved because they represent the outworking of God's grace and providential leading in the lives of one-seventh of the human race across thirteen centuries. The

[1] *The Living Christ and Dying Heathenism,* by Joh. Warneck, p. 121. New York, Fleming H. Revell Co., 1909.

shadows are dark and real. Are they removable? If this can be done, races—Arab, Negro, Berber, Egyptian, Syrian, Turkish, Iranian, Mongol, Afghan, Indian, Malay—and areas, vast and rich in resources, in Africa and Asia, can be made a part of the kingdom of God upon earth. Have we as Christians faith enough for that?

The Modernized Moslem

Before closing this chapter, there is need to refer to a sector of Moslem life so distinct in its type and outlook that it would frankly resent being brought within the picture which has been sketched for the average or typical Moslem. The individual member of this group may be described as the modernized Moslem. Chapter Five deals largely with him. He is to be found in all the large centers where there is contact with the West. In Algiers or Tunis, in Cairo or Damascus, in Istanbul or Baghdad, in Teheran or Lahore, in Calcutta or Singapore, Moslems of wealth and culture and education are to be found, speaking English, French or Italian, with charming manners and alert minds, much traveled, wide readers of magazines and newspapers, acquainted with the latest opera and practised in the latest dance steps. These represent a front-line group of the Moslem world who seem to contradict every generalization that has been made about the millions who stand behind them. But it may be safely asserted that this advanced type of modernized Moslem does not constitute more than from five to ten per cent of the whole, albeit their significance for the future may surpass such a numerical appraisal.

Chapter Three

THE GRIPPING POWER OF ISLAM

NO one acquainted with Moslem peoples can fail to be impressed with the large place which religion occupies in their lives. It is doubtful whether any people, unless it be the Jews, have taken religious observances as seriously as have Moslems. In the case of the Mohammedan world, religion has seemingly affected every detail of life with its prescriptions and requirements. While it is true that Islam in the course of its conquest of different peoples was sensibly modified at different points by their cultures, yet the fact remains that no other religion, as it conquered new territory, has so completely and quickly wiped out even the culture of the conquered people and imposed upon their total life new ways and customs, often a new language, as has the Mohammedan religion.

Islam can be truly described as totalitarian. By a million roots, penetrating every phase of life, all of them with religious significance, it is able to maintain its hold upon the life of Moslem peoples. So prominent is this religious influence that there is no other way of describing the culture or civilization of these peoples today than by a religious term—Moslem civilization, the Mohammedan world. While Islam seems to have gained so complete a hold on the life of

its adherents, they in turn seem committed to it with an abandon that is impressive. Thus the question is raised, What is the gripping power of Islam?

This leads to a study of the place in the life of the Moslem, first, of Mohammed, the founder of the faith; then, of the Koran, the holy book of Islam; and finally, of the formulated beliefs and practices of Islam.

Mohammed

Justice cannot be done here to the story of Mohammed's life and career. For that we must go to other sources.[1] Here we limit ourselves to a sort of "Who's Who" summary:

MOHAMMED, also called Ahmed in the Koran. Born in Mecca, Arabia, about A.D. 580 (alternative reckoning 570). Parents Abdallah and Amina; of good family of citizen aristocracy, but poor. Left orphan at early age. Cared for by uncle, Abu Talib. At age 25 (A.D. 605 or 595) married Khadijah, rich Meccan widow, 40 years old: children, 2 sons, 4 daughters; all died early without issue except Fatima, who outlived him and married Ali, leader of the Shiite sect. Was much given to introspection, meditation, nocturnal visions. Began preaching in Mecca, gained followers in Medina. Fled from Mecca to Medina about A.D. 622, an important journey called Hegira or migration, marking political evolution of Islam. Considerable success in Medina. Began armed forays against Mec-

[1] Lives of Mohammed: Muir's may be recommended as the most comprehensive and authoritative, Margoliouth's as sharply critical, but also authoritative. Sayyid Amir Ali's offers a defense of Mohammed for Western readers, but is not regarded as historically dependable. Tor Andrae's, recently published, views Mohammed as a religious leader.

can caravans. Years of alternating armed attacks and defenses, of diplomatic negotiations, ending with conquest of Mecca. Death of Khadijah about 619. Marriage in succession to 12 other wives, of whom Miriam alone had a child, a son, dying in infancy. Mohammed died June 8, 632, and was buried at Medina.

The High Place Given to Mohammed

It is difficult to exaggerate the high place which Moslems give to their prophet. It is certainly as high as that given by Christians to Jesus; perhaps practically, not theoretically, higher. The Moslem creed, "There is no god but Allah, and Mohammed is the prophet of Allah," gives one-half of its creedal emphasis to loyalty to him. Although Moslems rarely call themselves Mohammedans (*i.e.*, followers of Mohammed) but rather Moslems (*i.e.*, people who are surrendered or have submitted), in actual fact their supreme allegiance is to Mohammed and his memory, the Sufis, mystics, being the only exception to this. This fact needs to be remembered in any appraisal of Mohammed. At no point will Moslem peoples be so sensitive to Christian criticism and so resentful of it, as when anything is said or written derogatory to their prophet.

It might be argued that Christians have assigned to Jesus a higher place in their religion than the Moslems have to Mohammed in theirs, because Christians have assigned deity to Jesus, whereas Moslems make Mohammed human. But this may not signify much in actual fact, if we go beyond definitions and consider the practical part that Mohammed plays in the life of the Moslem. It has been pointed out that the early disciples in their three-year contact with Jesus

came only gradually to the ascription of divinity to him, as they tried to describe him and classify him. They called him Man, Great Man, Best of Men, Prophet, Great Prophet, Greatest of Prophets, Greater than any Prophet, The Promised Messiah, and finally Son of God. Further than that they could not go; anything less than that seemed inadequate.

So too the Moslem has climbed the ladder of his appraisal of Mohammed, but he has stopped with Last and Greatest of Prophets. This was as far as the Moslem could go, not because he had less appreciation of Mohammed, but because Mohammed himself denied any higher classification, and also partly because his strong emphasis on monotheism tended to widen the gulf between God and man and prevented any higher appraisal even for Mohammed. But we need to recognize that in the actual life and experiences of the ordinary Moslem, it is Mohammed who fills his heaven with spiritual glory. That name is an augury of success, an exclamation of joy, an anchor of hope, a name to be ever praised; on it peace is constantly invoked. The description of that life is the highest theme of poet and prose writer, of historian and philosopher, while for public entertainment, the singer and the bard can lift an audience to no higher delirium of pleasure and inspiration than by recounting the character and extolling the exploits of the Prophet.

Whatever we may say of the depth of our Christian reverence for Jesus, we cannot say that he figures as obviously in the daily life of the average Christian as does Mohammed in the life of the Moslem.

The Moslem's Estimate of Mohammed

Christians have debated at length the sincerity of Mohammed, varying in their conclusions from those who make him sincere at the start and ambitious for power at the end, to those who make him self-deceived throughout. To the Moslem his sincerity was absolute and continuous. The graciousness of his manner and the generosity of his nature are illustrated by many an incident in the Tradition. He is thought of as the personification of the spirit enjoined in the Koran, when it says, "Let no hatred of a people incite you not to act equitably; act equitably; that is nearer to piety." The hardships and sufferings endured on his way up to the place of leadership are all clothed with the sanctity and merit of a martyr's endurances. Nor can we in the non-mystical West realize what a claim to veneration and enthusiasm, almost adoration, attaches to the undoubted religious temperament of Mohammed. He was God-obsessed. He interpreted everything in life in terms of the invisible world. Truly sublime passages in the Koran, which will be noted later on, were voiced by him; even though they were ascribed to a divine source, as the instrument of divine speech he partook of that divine quality of life and thought.

Of course the supreme teaching of Mohammed lies in the first half of the creed which he taught: *La ilaha illa 'llahu* (There is no god but Allah). The magnificence of this teaching of monotheism appears to Moslems as laying the whole world forever under debt to the Arabian prophet. To their minds and knowledge, never had this truth been given to the world before. It was a wonderful gift to the idolatrous world of pre-Islamic Arabia.

Furthermore, Mohammed is looked on as a cleanser of social life and the one who uplifted women. Magnifying the corrupt social conditions of pre-Islamic days, Moslems find in Mohammed the one who abolished polygamy by limiting legal marriage to four wives; who brought to an end the inheriting of wives by his heirs as part of the estate of the deceased; who forbade putting girl children to death; and who gave to woman a legal status of her own in respect to property long before Western law conceived of such a thing. In a later section we shall comment on the reality of these values, but, for the moment, they enable us to see the basis for the Moslem's deep and unswerving devotion to his prophet.

Again, Mohammed is venerated as the channel of divine grace. Through his lips was given the word of God. We shall see how high is the Moslem's regard for his sacred book. An added veneration attaches to Mohammed because it came through him. Has there not been built up in Roman Catholic circles a veneration for the Virgin Mary, because she was the mother of Jesus, a fact which has accorded to her adoration itself? So too has there developed in the mind of the Moslem a sense of veneration for him who was chosen of God to be the bearer of that uncreated word, held to be so divine as to be in a sense a part of God himself.

And finally, to the Moslem, there is enthusiasm, open and unrestrained, because his prophet was successful. He conquered. No crucified Lord was he. He whipped his enemies until they ate out of his hand. He organized armies and led them. He directed their field strategy. He distributed booty following victory and fixed the terms of sur-

render. And what is more, he started a conquering record that continued for more than eight hundred years after his day, that swept half way round the world, and that placed at the disposal of the believers in Allah the wealth of the Roman Empire in North Africa, of the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor, of the Spanish kingdom in Europe—rivers of gold, luxury undreamed of, authority over great nations, pomp and prestige! These are the seal and proof of the blessing and favor of God and of the apostleship of Mohammed.

The Koran

Since we are chiefly concerned with observing the influence of the Koran as the sacred book of the Moslem, reference must be made to other sources for a description of the book itself and only the briefest summary sketch given here.

THE KORAN, also called *Kitab Allah*, the book of God, and *Kalam Allah*, the word of God. Regarded as the very words of God, revealed to Mohammed between A.D. 610 and A.D. 632, therefore a faultless pattern of Arabic language, literature and syntax, of religious and all other truth. In size about two-thirds of the New Testament. Has 114 suras or chapters, ranging from 3 to 280 verses; some verses have two words, some half a page. It has a total of 6,200 verses, each ending with an assonance, creating a sort of rhyme. Arrangement wholly unmethodical, neither topical nor chronological. Sections identified for Western research as Meccan and Medinese, based on place where revealed. Present text collected by Caliph Othman (644-656) and all earlier editions destroyed. General character extremely confused, difficult to interpret, with certain revelations canceling others, containing many pas-

sages oracular in character and some of truly sublime dignity and imagery concerning the greatness of God. Good English translation: J. M. Rodwell's in the Everyman's Library series.

The Moslem's Estimate of the Koran

So prominent is the place occupied by the Koran in the life and thought of the Moslem that there is no parallel for it in other religions and it is difficult to picture to a Western Christian what the position is. In it (supplemented, where lacking, by the Tradition) are found the laws which govern the whole of life—marriage, divorce, inheritance, guardianship of children, economics and politics. Since the Koran is "uncreated" the Moslem has for it that sense of awe and mystery that the Roman Catholic has in the lifting of the host before the altar. "Let none touch it but the purified" is the regulation for handling it. On *Laylatul-Qadr*, the Night of Decreeing, the anniversary of which is celebrated yearly, it was brought down to the lowest of the seven heavens, whence it was communicated piecemeal to the Prophet. Listening to the recitation of the Koran is counted one of the most pleasurable experiences mortal can enjoy. That it really is greatly enjoyed is proved by its intonation by the hour at weddings and receptions, on festival occasions, and now, in Egypt, by radio as a part of the daily program which is listened to with supreme pleasure in every native café. As someone has said, its recitation is to the Moslem "an art that gives him that element of esthetic spirit which in the West is found in storied window richly dight, in pealing organ, in melodies and harmonies that thrill and

uplift the soul." In illustration, take the following celebrated passage:

> By the Sun and his noonday brightness!
> By the Moon when she followeth him!
> By the Day when it revealeth his glory!
> By the Night when it enshroudeth him!
> By the Heaven and Him who built it!
> By the Earth and Him who spread it forth!
> By a Soul and Him who balanced it,
> And breathed into it its wickedness and its piety,
> Blessed now is he who hath kept it pure,
> And undone is he who hath corrupted it! [1]
>
> —Sura 91:1-10

The influence of the Koran on the entire stream of Arabic literature is immeasurable. As the very words of God, it has stood as the model of literary style, for who could improve on God's Arabic? Thus, where other nations have adapted and developed their languages across the centuries, *e.g.*, Latin becoming Italian and French and Spanish, the old forms of German and Greek and English giving way to their modern forms, the Arabic has maintained fixedly the classical forms of the Koran for the literati and intelligentsia. Imagine, as a parallel, all the writers of our American and British books and newspapers being compelled to approximate the seventh century English of Beowulf.

The Tradition

A discussion of the Koran, the sacred book of the Moslem, would be far from complete and would be even mis-

[1] J. M. Rockwell's translation of the Koran, p. 38. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1909.

leading without reference to the authority and influence of the *Sunnas* in the life of every Moslem. Every saying or act of the Prophet is regarded as in the nature of an example and a command which every good Moslem must follow. These *Sunnas*, or customs of the Prophet, constitute the Tradition, or *Hadith*, whose authority is co-equal with the Koran. The Koran gives you the very words that God spake, but so perfect an apostle of God was Mohammed himself that any clearly supported tradition as to what he said or did is binding on every true believer.

Naturally, a vitally important question emerges: What are the fully established traditions? It is a long story of how traditions multiplied until hundreds of thousands were reported; how various learned officials were assigned the task of reporting upon their authenticity; and finally how the present body of incidents became generally approved as the Tradition, referred to also among Sunnites as the six Correct Books, whose authority is quite equal to that of the Koran. Suffice to say that the test applied was not the internal test of credibility or consistency or appropriateness, but only the external test of whether they were supported by known attestors who could go back to some one of the "companions of the Prophet" who had actually seen or heard what was submitted in the Tradition. Many spurious traditions had accumulated during the twenty-three decades that intervened before this task of classification was undertaken, so that we learn that out of 300,000 the great Bokhari accredited but 10,000, and out of 500,000 Abu Daud accredited but 4,800. Many others (in all 1,465 persons, it is reported) have undertaken to make collections of approved

traditions about the Prophet in addition to the six collections that are accepted as officially approved. Naturally, some authority attaches to these collections, so that for purposes of eulogy of the Prophet, for varied themes for prose or poetry, for conversational illustrations or argument in popular addresses, there are endless stories about the Prophet that may be cited upon almost any topic or thesis.

Formulated Beliefs and Practices

The following tradition is given in support of the list of beliefs and practices commonly and officially recognized and accepted in Islam:

> Gabriel came in the form of an Arab of the desert and sat down so that his knees touched the knees of the Prophet and said: "O apostle of God, what is Islam?" He said, "That thou shouldst bear witness that there is no god save God and that I am the apostle of God; that thou shouldst perform the prayers and bring the alms and fast in the month of Ramadan and make pilgrimage to the House [Kaaba] if the way is possible for thee." He said, "Thou hast spoken truly." Then he said, "What is faith?" The Prophet said: "That thou shouldst believe in God and his angels and his book and his messengers and in the Last Day, and that thou shouldst believe in his decreeing both of good and evil."

Whether the foregoing tradition suggested them or was invented to support them, the fact is that the Moslem is taught that the practical duties of his religion, the pillars of religion, are:

1. *Witnessing:* the recital of the creed, "There is no god but Allah, and Mohammed is the prophet of Allah."
2. *Prayer:* the five stated daily prayers.

3. *Fasting:* most important being the fast of Ramadan.
4. *Alms:* legal alms about a fortieth part of one's income.
5. *Pilgrimage:* primarily to Mecca.

The articles of faith are:

1. *God.* This includes belief in his existence, unity and right alone to worship by man. In him is life, knowledge, power, will, hearing, seeing and speech.

2. *Angels.* These require no food, are sexless, move in both heaven and earth, have charge of men and record their acts, render various services to God. Many stories are told of angels, jinn, evil spirits, and houris.

3. *The books.* There have been one hundred and four divine books, among which prominence is given to the Taurat (law), transmitted through Moses, the Zabur (psalms), through David, the Injil (evangel), through Jesus, and the Koran through Mohammed.

4. *The prophets.* From Adam, the first, to Mohammed, the last of the prophets, there have been about 200,000, of whom six are specially nameworthy: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Mohammed. Mohammed was sent to all peoples; each of the others to a particular people or nation. No other prophet is to follow Mohammed, although room is allowed for divinely accredited messengers.

5. *The resurrection and the Last Day.* The details of this belief would fill many pages. Men are judged by the relative weight of their good and bad acts, but an unbeliever will remain in the fire while believers will be purged of their evil deeds through the fire and then enter paradise.

6. *Predestination of good and evil.* Various efforts have been made to modify or qualify this teaching, but the overwhelming balance of belief is on the side of a complete fatalism and determinism. A tradition supported by four great authorities of tradition declares that God made some persons for paradise and some for hell.

There is no need to comment in detail on the several practices of the Moslem religion. To appreciate their character and spirit in Islam, it is necessary to read about them at length in books describing the Moslem religion.[1] Here it is enough to say that these religious practices of Islam are incalculably effective in maintaining and promoting the corporate organizational life of Islam. Only those who have lived in a Moslem world can realize what this means. The oral recital of the creed on every occasion, the punctuating of the day with the stated prayers, the repeated calls of the *muezzin* to prayer, the chanting of the creed by the funeral processions as they make their way to the burial places—these all help to deepen the corporate consciousness of a world in which all pride themselves on being Moslems. When Ramadan, the month of fasting, comes, it brings into the entire social life and even into the political life of the country a deep sense of Moslem communal solidarity.

The pilgrimage, of course, carries this sense of solidarity far beyond the limits of any single community and creates an international solidarity. Moor fronting the Atlantic meets Malay fronting the Pacific; Negro from the tropical south meets Mongol from Central Asia; the whole world seems to be Moslem. Great is the Prophet and his religion! It is important to observe that only the first of the six practices—witnessing—is essential for admission into the fellowship of Moslems. Say, "There is no god but Allah, and Mohammed is the prophet of Allah," and the door of

[1] One such book, still valuable though written years ago, is Lane's *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, referred to earlier.

welcome to Mohammedan brotherhood swings wide open to receive you. Observe how simple the faith, what free range it affords for variations in religious natures and in intellectual attainments. It is suited to the most primitive mind and it sets no fetters on the most elaborate theological interpretation. Has Christianity an equivalent in the declaration of its faith which will rival Islam's creed for simplicity and yet for sufficiency?

The future life is a strong reality with the Moslem. Authority for it resides in the Koranic teachings, although tradition elaborates details. At points the teachings seem to contradict each other. There is a paradise and a hell. All men are to be judged by their works. For Moslems hell can only be temporary. The places of both bliss and torment are depicted as material; they project to eternity the joys and satisfactions experienced on earth in respect to food and drink, youth and sexual delight. But of course for the faithful there is also the ineffable bliss of being vindicated by Allah and exalted by him. This future hope, implicitly believed in, has undoubtedly borne up the warrior and inspired him with a contempt for danger and death, if not for the courting of martyrdom.

Belief in the predestination of good and evil may be regarded, from the Christian point of view, as a shockingly immoral teaching, but, looked at from the side of practical religion in Islam, it grows quite naturally out of the Moslem conception of God and the Moslem attitude toward him, which is that of *islam*, submission or resignation. With the surrender of everything to his ordering, there comes a sense of peace and quiet. Those living among Moslems have

repeatedly seen them accepting loss of fortune and of loved one with a fortitude and resignation and an absence of recriminations and rebellion that many Christians would do well to emulate. Whatever we may think of predestination, it must be remembered that the practical values of comfort and peace are to be found in it, else it would not have such a gripping power in the lives of Moslems. This is not to deny that there is a deeper and more wholesome comfort to be had in the Christian conception of God, when love, not mere power, is on the throne and when human resignation does not spell surrender to inscrutable fate but to inscrutable love and wisdom.

Lastly, there is the belief in Allah. This too is a dynamic element in the Moslem religion. A whole chapter could be given to this subject. In utmost brevity, we point out the gripping power of this article of faith. First, Allah is one. As Laurence E. Browne points out, he is mathematically one. This was Mohammed's great message of deliverance in the face of polytheism and idolatry, but the dynamic of his religious message did not lie there. It lay in that which Mohammed experienced and transmitted with such telling vividness: Allah is alive; he reveals himself to men; he has revealed himself to Mohammed. This consciousness of a living, active God is what really matters in Islam. The conviction of a living God, no matter how incorrect the conception of his character, is infinitely more dynamic than a dead formal belief in the existence of God, no matter how correctly his character may be pictured. The outworking of that belief is everywhere: in every salutation and exclamation and introduction and farewell,

in one's rising up and sitting down. In the preceding chapter this was spoken of as a cultural or racial trait of the Orient. Undoubtedly Islam contributed to it. This sense of God as alive and active is a dynamic conviction, but there is more to the Moslem's conception of Allah than this.

Allah is a God of power. All the ingredients necessary to absolute power are ascribed to Allah. He is omnipotent and omniscient and irresistible. His decrees command the whole universe and all the ways of man. Later we shall speak of the limitations of such an unbalanced conception of deity, but here we are judging it as an asset in the Moslem's faith and seeking to appreciate its gripping power on his life. All that the Jew or Christian gets of inspiration out of reading the One Hundred and Fourth Psalm or *Isaiah* 40: 12-26, the Moslem gets from the conception of Allah's power as given him in such teachings as these:

> Verily God causeth the grain and the date stone to put forth: he bringeth forth the living from the dead, and the dead from the living! This is God! Why, then, are ye turned aside from him?
>
> He causeth the dawn to appear, and hath ordained the night for rest, and the sun and the moon for computing time! The ordinance of the Mighty, the Wise!
>
> And it is he who hath ordained the stars for you that ye may be guided thereby in the darkness of the land and of the sea! Clear have we made our signs to men of knowledge.[1] —SURA 6

We have tried to look at Islam with a Moslem's eyes and have tried to sense the deep emotions stirred in a Mos-

[1] J. M. Rodwell's translation of the Koran, p. 326.

lem's heart by his thought of his prophet, his sacred book and the tenets of his religious faith. This gripping power of Islam must be understood and appreciated, even if as Christians we are not satisfied with it. It is only right that we should now appraise this Islamic faith from a Christian point of view.

Chapter Four

AN APPRAISAL OF ISLAM

HOW shall we go about appraising Islam? First of all, it ought to be pointed out that we are appraising it as a religion, and as a world religion. If Islam be regarded merely as a local and passing phase in the development long ago of a nation buried in Arabia, then our standards of appraisal may be less exacting than they must be if Islam is considered as a religion claiming finality and supremacy for all time and for all countries.

Again, our appraisal ought to be fair, even sympathetic, for we believe that in some way God is back of all the searchings of men after him, even as he is back of all the processes of the universe.

As a world phenomenon, also, Islam deserves our most respectful consideration in any appraisal of it. Through thirteen centuries this religion has persisted; there have been periods in history when it looked as if it would conquer all of Europe, when its centers of learning commanded the keenest thinkers of the world. Here, therefore, is no primitive, unorganized, inchoate religious movement, but one that has an organized theology, a defined ritual, a developed civilization, a distinctive art and literature; that has formulated laws, systems of jurisprudence, social codes, political

policies. It has, in its day, marshaled great armies, overcome Western powers, built up vast empires, done its thinking in world terms. The least we can do is to approach it with respect, for even if its glory has largely departed from it, its records attest its past greatness and its remaining strength and influence are solemnizing indeed.

In appraising any religion, there are four ways of proceeding:

1. A religion may be judged by its *founder*. We may ask what were his character, his personal life, his official record. This is important, because generally the character of the founder determines the character of the religion.

2. Again, a religion may be appraised by its *sacred books*.

3. Once again, a religion may be judged by its officially formulated *beliefs and practices*.

4. Finally, a religion may be appraised by *what it has done* for those adopting it, whether as individuals or as a community.

Obviously we cannot in this one chapter undertake in a comprehensive and detailed way such an appraisal of the religion of Moslem peoples. Nor does our aim lay upon us the responsibility for so serious a study. We only want to reach a general conclusion as to the Moslem's religion that will enable us to see whether there is need for Christian missionary effort.

Mohammed

"Don't say anything against our prophet," said the Sheikh el Azhar to a Christian gentleman, "because, you see, we cannot answer in kind by reproaching your prophet, since we too count Isa [Jesus] among our prophets and cannot

therefore say anything against him. So play fair with us, even if you are not enjoined similarly not to speak evil of Mohammed." It was an ingenious and quite pertinent form of argument and we do well, both for fairness' sake and in Christian courtesy, to heed the request. So we begin by quoting a generous appreciation of Mohammed by Paul Harrison, missionary in Arabia. He says:

The only fair way to estimate Mohammed's character and greatness is by comparison with other great Orientals. To spend time and effort in a detailed exposition of how his character falls short of Christ's reflects little credit . . . upon our knowledge and understanding of Christ. When we compare Mohammed with Alexander, whose dissipations killed him at thirty-three, with Persian monarchs like Xerxes, who impoverished their kingdoms by the extravagances of a sensual court, with the Caesars of Rome degraded by their wholesale immoralities and cruelties, with Akbar and Jehangir and the other Moguls of India, we realize that the temptations of lust and greed and treachery left him surprisingly clean. Certainly Mohammed was one of the greatest men the world has ever seen. Not one of the military heroes that we honor approaches him in permanent influence. Probably not six men in the whole history of the world have made such a mark on it as he. . . .

In view of the power of the system that Mohammed introduced, nothing but academic interest attaches to any investigation of his sincerity. He must have been sincere in any legitimate definition of that term. He received what he believed to be a revelation from God. His harshest critic does not claim that he was ever unfaithful to that revelation. In his prosperous days when loot was brought in in quantities, it was not wasted in personal display or indulgence. To the

end of his life, Mohammed devoted himself wholly to the propagation of the great truth which he believed himself divinely commissioned to give to men. That in his relations to women he exceeded its provisions is unquestioned. That he promulgated fictitious visions at times to bridge over difficult emergencies is obvious. But it is equally certain that he never lost his devotion to the propagation of his message. The character of the successors that Mohammed left behind him is evidence enough of his sincerity. Abu Bakr and Omar of themselves are sufficient to refute any idea of divided motives in Mohammed's life.[1]

We have quoted this judgment at length, because it does a justice to Mohammed in terms of his times, thirteen centuries past, which many Christians have been reluctant to grant. However, our appraisal of Mohammed as a religious ideal has to do with today and that is quite another thing. It is as a religious ideal for the present and the long future, as a religious model on which to pattern life in all lands and times, that the Christian feels he cannot accept Islam's great leader. The Christian, be he ever so friendly, is troubled at four points.

Social and Sexual Shortcomings

These deficiencies seem insuperable. The efforts of some apologists, like Sayyid Amir Ali or Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah, to justify the prophet's multiplicity of wives by the standards of his times and by various altruistic considerations which are put forth, even if accepted as fact and not ingenious argument, merely establish for him a claim as a seventh cen-

[1] *The Arab at Home*, pp. 188-90. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1924.

tury leader but not as a moral pattern and social model for our day. Modern civilization, which believes in monogamy as the higher moral and social order, finds it rather difficult to accept as a religious leader and pattern one who had thirteen wives. The low estimate in which woman has been held in all Moslem lands also seems to the Westerner to bear some natural and necessary relation to the teachings and example of Mohammed, and her degradation and oppression have been too obvious and persistent to be overlooked.

Enthronement of Physical Force

To the Christian, the life and career of Mohammed contrast sharply with those of Jesus at this point: the Prophet's appeal to physical force instead of a supreme reliance upon moral force. We do not intend to claim for organized Christianity that it has limited itself to the method of its Founder. Gunpowder and battleships have only too frequently been Christendom's method of self-advancement. But the Christian ideal based on its Founder's life and teaching has been moral persuasion and moral influence, an ideal pursued even to the point of suffering loss and death.

Static Standards of Life

Another point troubles the Christian in the Moslem's loyalty to Mohammed: it is the fact that it binds Moslem life to a past in every detail and blocks progress. Canon Temple Gairdner once wrote out of the knowledge and understanding of a lifetime devoted to the people of a Moslem land:

It is indeed remarkable to reflect how Christianity, which regarded its Founder as divine, never preserved, much less invented, minutiae concerning his daily life, and so was saved from enslaving itself to a new style of law; while Islam, the very religion which arose to protest against the excessive esteeming of any man, ended by binding itself hand and foot, and for all generations, to one man's dictation in all the concerns of both private and public life.[1]

Jesus Totally Eclipsed

The practical effect of this all-absorbing loyalty to Mohammed is that it eclipses and obliterates any vision of Christ. Coming after Christ, there was no logical reason for Islam to shut the historical Jesus out of its life and faith. Moslems had some knowledge of him. Indeed, they gave him a place among their prophets as Isa. They even ascribed to him sinlessness. But the magnitude of Moslem loyalty to Mohammed has left no room for any vital regard for Jesus, while in truth the spirit of Mohammed differed so completely in its outlook on life from that of Jesus that it would be difficult to imagine how any religious movement could do justice to both at the same time.

For these and other reasons the Christian will find it impossible to share in the Moslem's loyalty to Mohammed, except as Paul Harrison sets him forth as a great leader of the seventh century. Some day, historical criticism under the auspices of educated Moslems or Western schools of learning may assist in correcting false views of the Prophet which persist at the present time.

[1] *Vital Forces of Christianity and Islam*, p. 19. New York, Oxford University Press, 1915.

The Koran

To the Western Christian, there are passages in the Koran which even in translation thrill and inspire because of their imagery and their sublime references to God, to eternity, to death. The Christian may even encourage the devotional uses of these passages. Illustrations were given in the preceding chapter. But apart from this appreciation the Koran makes no appeal to him, while the theory of its inspiration and the authority accorded to it are contrary to his entire intellectual and religious outlook. He encounters four grave difficulties as he attempts a serious study of it.

Disconnectedness

To the Western mind, whether Christian or otherwise, the Koran presents insuperable obstacles to a clear understanding. Groups of verses which obviously belong together are unreasonably separated from each other. Old Testament and New Testament prophets are enumerated in hopeless disorder. The arrangement, almost throughout, of the order of the suras on the basis of their length could not help but increase the confusion and disconnectedness of the contents of the Koran. These limitations may be blamed upon those who brought together the fragments of recorded sayings given by the Prophet, but nevertheless they exist and prevent an appreciation of the book.

Historical and Scientific Inaccuracies

Western students of the Koran point to historical defects which would be quite pardonable in an ancient document

making no special claims for itself. But with claims of a literal divine inspiration and complete infallibility, these historical inaccuracies become troublesome even for the rising generation of Moslems. For example, there is confusion of two Marys (19:28, 29), the Virgin Mary being made the sister of Aaron and the daughter of Imran; of Haman, minister of King Ahasuerus and the minister of the Pharaoh at the time of Moses (28:5, 6, 7, 38; 40:38); of Gideon and Saul and David and Goliath (2:250). Scientific crudities are also troublesome, because they stand as explicit deliverances of the Creator of the universe. Such are references to the Ptolemaic astronomical system and a constant atmosphere of magic and of supernaturalism that gathers about references to human events (41:11; 23:12; 25:55, 56).

Moral Teachings

Here again admiration and appreciation might replace criticism at many points, if the Koran could only be judged by the standards of the age in which it was given. But we are not allowed to accept it on such terms. It must be judged by its own claim that it brings the perfect revelation of the divine will for all time. Today its teachings outrage our modern moral sensibilities violently and irretrievably in many passages such as these: "But when the sacred months have passed away, kill the idolaters wherever ye may find them." (9:15.) "Marry what seems good to you of women, by two's, or three's, or four's, or what your right hand possesses." (4:3.) The constant confusion of moral precepts and ritualistic regulations is also troublesome. It is as if belief

in the unity of God were put on a level with the duty of physical ablution. But what is far more serious is a prevailing sensuous atmosphere surrounding things spiritual. It will be seen, therefore, that there is no adequate emphasis on sin, and, of course, Islam has no atonement for sin.

Theory of Inspiration

The central and basic difficulty with the Koran is in the whole Moslem theory of its literal and mechanical inspiration, or dictation, and in the claim of a finality of all revelations in this book. "All Moslems," says Lammens, "admit without question the miracle of the *ijaz*, that is, the insuperability of the Koran. . . . Mohammedan orthodoxy considers the Koran as 'uncreated,' in the sense . . . that in its actual form, in its phonetic and graphic reproduction, in the linguistic garb of the Arab tongue, it is identical and co-eternal with its celestial original."[1] Every Koranic quotation is introduced by the phrase, "Allah has said." Throughout the book, Allah is represented as the speaker. Because of all this, the authority of the book becomes absolute and complete; not the slightest deviation from its injunctions is possible; all these are to be taken literally.

If the question is raised whether this stranglehold upon progressive knowledge may not be broken by some intellectual movement within Islam that will do away with this rigid theory of the Koranic inspiration, the only answer is that, of course, all things are possible. The inroads of

[1] *Islam: Beliefs and Institutions*, by Henri Lammens, pp. 55, 37. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1929.

modern civilization may destroy even this basic traditionalism. When that takes place, Islam will indeed be set free, free to move away from the old traditional Koranic shores. But whither?

Formulated Beliefs and Practices

Another method of appraising a religion was suggested, namely, the evaluation of its official beliefs and practices. These have already been described and their gripping power over Moslem life noted. What will a fair and even sympathetic appraisal of them from the Christian point of view have to say?

Their Remarkable Adaptation to Human Nature

Let us pay tribute to the obvious service to Moslem religious aspirations rendered by the five practices of Islam. The dissatisfaction that the Christian feels regarding them is directed toward their content rather than toward the forms themselves. As practices they seem almost ideally suited to human nature, especially for primitive peoples. We could be well satisfied, if only their content were true and wholesome. Picture these five practices Christianized and carried over into the Christian fellowship:

Witnessing: "There is no God but God and Jesus is the Son (or express image) of his life and love."

Prayer: Not congested within the limits of one day in the week, but sanctifying every day.

Fasting: Where some physical token of a spiritual discipline will make more real our allegiance to God.

Alms: Not a fortieth, but the dedication of all of life,

although even a fortieth from all Christians today would float every Christian enterprise off the rocks.

Pilgrimage: Nothing could do more to deepen the sense of unity among the Christian nations of the world than some great annual spiritual retreat, spiritually conducted, where East and West would meet, black and white and yellow, rich and poor, learned and ignorant.

No, the practices of Islam show rare insight into the religious nature of man. It is their content that leaves so much to be desired.

The Conception of God

The Moslem conception of God is the basic limitation in Islam. It swings between an agnosticism which has been set forth in the jingle

> Whatever conception your mind comes at
> I tell you flat
> God is *not* that,

and, what prevails far more generally in Islam, a portrayal of him solely in terms of power. The basic conception of God brought by Christ is that he is love. Here the Christian way is diametrically removed from the Moslem way of thinking about God. There is no reconciling the two. The Moslem way leads to fear and fatalism, to force and war, to cruelty and hate, to pride in the hour of success and despair or servile submission in the hour of failure, for power rules the universe. The Christian revelation of God as love leads—though Christians have not always traveled that road, nor traveled it far—to unselfishness and goodness, to human kindness and peace, to faith and trust, to humility

and self-dedication, for love lies back of the universe. Never can the Christian be happy about Islam's conception of God. Though Islam came after Christianity, its revelation of God marks not a forward step but a backward step, carrying us even further back than the Old Testament, for Islam's God is power—pure, absolute power—not even subject to moral principles, as was the teaching of the Old Testament on the subject. As George Adam Smith once wisely observed, "It is not safe for men to exalt a deity to the throne of the supreme providence, till they are certified of his character."

Effects of Religion on Life

We live in a practical age. Many are inclined to turn away from the appraisals of religion which we have followed, based on the life and character of the founder, or on the teachings and content of a sacred book, or on officially formulated religious beliefs and practices. They claim that such reasoning is too academic and theoretical. "Tell us," they say, "how a religion works out in the life of the people and what it has done for them; what we want is an appraisal based on practical results."

Only one condition needs to be imposed in the interest of fairness upon this pragmatic method of appraising a religion by its effects upon the people who adhere to it. It is that we must take for purposes of comparison long stretches of time and large blocks of human life. You may not judge of Islam by a Saladin or a Ghazzali, nor of Hinduism by a Gandhi or a Tagore. So we would appraise Islam in the life of Moslem peoples, dealing in any specific

instance only with conditions that have prevailed for at least five hundred years and with groupings of population running into the millions.

Physical and Material Condition

Nothing is more patent to the most casual observer than the material backwardness of Moslem countries. Nor is it chargeable to the character of the country. North Africa, now poverty stricken, was once the home of a great population with large and important cities. Iran, equal to the six great American states fronting the Pacific, does not have one-tenth as much railroad mileage as the smallest of these six states. In Iraq, lack of means of transportation makes useless the agricultural development of a territory whose former fertility was the wonder of ancient kingdoms. Paul Harrison, whose life has been spent in the Moslem world, describes the situation as follows:

> Hardly a society on earth could be found with less aptitude than the Arab's for extracting a satisfactory subsistence from its external environment. What is true of Arabia holds true of other parts of the Mohammedan world. . . . Wherever we meet this religion, the story is the same. Nowhere has it brought real progress. Everywhere it has been a hindrance. Man's ability to live, to wrest life's necessities from the material world, has been diminished rather than increased by the religion of Mohammed.[1]

Evidently something is wrong. In the Turkish press, Moslems themselves have openly charged Islam with being a drag upon the nation's progress and the Turkish nation

[1] *The Arab at Home*, pp. 252-53.

has practically thrown off Islam save in the sphere of personal religion and the devotional life. In other countries leading Moslems sensitive to the charge have ascribed this material backwardness to the absence of science and not to religion. This leads us to the next point.

Thought Life

Perhaps nowhere does one sense more sharply the difference between the Western world and the Moslem than when one explores the thought life of each. The processes of thought, the content, the ideals and the reactions of the two worlds at this point are in complete contrast. Why this difference in intellectual conception and outlook? The answer is, science has not yet come into the Moslem world in any large, deep and true sense. Dr. T. H. P. Sailer, in his book, *The Moslem Faces the Future*,[1] has expressed this thought. "Up to the present," he says, "the Moslem world has resembled Christendom of the fourteenth century more than that of the twentieth." To understand the Moslem world, to be able really to sympathize with it, to be able to forgive its limitations and be patient with its intellectual viewpoints, differing so greatly from our own, we need to go back to days in Europe which preceded the coming of science, days before Newton and Halley and Linnaeus, even before Copernicus and Kepler and Galileo. Then in Europe, too, literature and philosophy won the highest laurels; theology was central in university studies; church and state were often identified; all of life was attended with uncertainty and the universe responded to magic—all

[1] New York, Missionary Education Movement, 1926.

in sharp contrast with the West of today, but with many analogies to the present-day Moslem world.

But why has science not come to the Moslem world? Is there not a deep philosophic connection between the absence of science in the Moslem world and the conception of God's relation to the universe imparted by Islam? The Moslem idea of God is that of sovereignty, absolute sovereignty. To such lengths is this conception carried that God's sovereignty is thought of as power, arbitrary and unrestrained by any law. This is not an atmosphere within which either science or morality can breathe freely. An incident may serve to show how unfavorable to scientific thinking are the logical implications of the Moslem conception of God.

Walking along a country road in a Moslem land, an American overtook a country lad of about eighteen. As they walked along together conversing in Arabic, it occurred to the American to get from the young man some information about palm trees. So he asked, "How long do palm trees live?" "That has not yet been revealed," said the young man. Thinking that he was merely being put off, the American persisted. "But really I should like to know. Does a palm tree live as long as a man or longer?" With great earnestness the young man replied, "Sir, that has not yet been revealed. That will be revealed in the Judgment Day. Don't you believe in the Judgment Day?" "Certainly," said the American, "I often think we need the Judgment Day." "Well, you wait," said the young man, "and you will find out."

The American laughed to himself and then the thought

occurred to him, "No, this young man is saying something and I'm not getting it." So he went on plying him with questions to discover his conception of God and God's relation to the universe. He discovered that the young man's conception was entirely self-consistent. It was this: Allah looks down upon the growing palm trees and he says to this one, "You live two years." It lives two years and dies. To another he says, "Twenty." To another, "Two hundred." So the trees live and die each according to an arbitrary decree of Allah. When the last palm tree has lived and died, this process is complete and you have reached the Judgment Day. Then, and then only for the first time, you can look down upon the long avenue of palm trees and discover how long palm trees live. The young man was seemingly right! But such thinking does not make for sound science.

The Social Order

Under this heading there are several phases of the social order to be considered.

Islamic fraternity. In a paper presented to the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council in 1928, the following strong statement was made:

> If there is one element which more than any other deserves our serious attention, and to some extent our admiration, it is this fundamental fact of Islamic brotherhood. However grave be its limitations, both in its spirit and its negative applications, it is, on its own plane, a real achievement. It does introduce a factor of actual unity amid the clashes of color, race, nationality and class. . . . Islamic fraternity as a unifying factor is a real thing, and beyond all

other things in Islam gives occasion for meditation and thought to all Christians, and especially to those who might be inclined to stress Christian individualism at the expense of that "dwelling together in unity" willed by him who was lifted up that he might draw all men unto himself. The admirers of Islam today say that it is the only working brotherhood available for this distracted world, the only unifying factor amid all its antipathies and frictions, the only feasible Catholicism.[1]

However, these ideals were overborne by the Arabs themselves, who arrogated to themselves, as conquerors of other lands and peoples, a precedence socially and in respect to immunity from certain taxation. But the chief and basic flaw in this Moslem fraternity is that it is not based on man as man, for it excludes all races and peoples who are not Moslems. The high price of enjoying the privileges of this fraternity is therefore the necessity of becoming a Moslem.

Woman. At no point is the situation in the Moslem world generally more pitiable than in respect to the condition of woman. And no single factor weighs so heavily in lowering the morale of the Moslem world as this factor of woman's unworthy position in society. A later chapter[2] will tell of limited areas of the Moslem world where, through contact with the West, woman is achieving emancipation. As these lines are being written, there come to mind Moslem women of the highest order, intelligent, refined,

[1] Canon W. H. T. Gairdner, in *The Christian Life and Message in Relation to Non-Christian Systems of Life and Thought,* pp. 203-4. New York, International Missionary Council, 1928.

[2] Chapter Five, pp. 98-104.

capable, possessing wealth, executive ability and independence; but this is not a picture typical of conditions generally, for woman is both pathetically treated and, too often, pathetically unworthy in the Moslem world. It is not Christians who bring this charge; it is the charge made by Moslems themselves. What are the elements in woman's degradation?

First, there is a general estimate of woman that is unworthy. In illustration the following paragraph from the Koran may be quoted: "Men stand superior to women in that God hath preferred the one over the other. . . . Those whose perverseness ye fear, admonish them and remove them into bedchambers and beat them; but if they submit to you then do not seek a way against them." (4:38.)

Next, there is the weight of legal disability, for the *shariat*, the religious law, subjects very completely the daughter to her father (or nearest male kin) and the wife to her husband. It is here that much false reasoning is found. It is often argued that a Moslem woman may hold property, cannot be married against her will, and has other rights. This is technically true, but the law also commits so completely the very person of the woman to the man (father, nearest male kin or husband) that by this control of her person she is prevented, unless she be a woman of unusual force of character, from asserting her rights; and rarely does it occur to her to make a claim contrary to the wishes of the man.

The seclusion of woman and the imposition of the veil, whenever and however the custom may have originated, tend also to convey a sense of inferiority, as well as to limit

the opportunity for becoming widely informed and developing intelligence through social contacts.

Still another factor is illiteracy and ignorance. In a land where there are dependable statistics we find 19 per cent of Moslem men literate and only 3.9 per cent of Moslem women.[1] One authority expresses the belief that not more than 500,000 out of the 100,000,000 Moslem women of the entire world can read and write.[2]

The fear of polygamy—Islam allows four legal wives—adds seriously to woman's feeling of inferiority and robs her of a sense of security in the home and in society. The fear is there, even though few men can afford to maintain more than one wife at a time.

Her constant subjection to capricious divorce is the final and crushing blow to woman's position of influence and honor in the social order. Of course it must be recognized that certain deterrents to the abuse of divorce exist: alimony may need to be paid; and the ill will of the wife's family may be a disadvantage. He who calls the tune of divorce will have to pay for the music, but the fact remains that the right to divorce is overwhelmingly the prerogative of the man.

The all-pervasive vitiating element, however, in the position accorded to Moslem women is the fact that it is based chiefly on the conception of sex, not upon a conception of personality. Not until a man thinks of woman preeminently as a personality, as Christ taught, and not in mere terms of

[1] Egypt census, 1927.

[2] Samuel M. Zwemer, quoted by Henri Lammens in *Islam: Beliefs and Institutions.*

sex, will her worth and dignity be established. Here is a supreme contribution that can be made to the Moslem world both by Christian teaching and by Christian example.

Slavery. Slave markets are reported to be still in operation in certain sections of North Africa, but not much need be said on this point, since the advance of Western political control has almost eliminated slavery from the world. The last activities of slave raiding and slave trading are associated with the Moslem trader, but the stigma of slavery was attached so recently to "Christian" trade that neither camp may greatly reproach the other. Mohammed accepted slavery as an economic custom of his day; he then issued injunctions urging upon Moslems the kindly treatment of slaves. It can be claimed for Christianity, however, as it cannot for Islam, that the teachings and spirit of Christianity are in principle opposed to slavery even though it took Christianity eighteen hundred years to develop a public conscience on the subject, and it has been from Christianity that the initiative has come which led to the abolition of slavery throughout the world.

Moral Standards

Morality cannot be profitably appraised by reference to specific rules and regulations in society at any particular moment. The important thing to discover is whether life is governed by moral principles which may be elaborated endlessly and their application extended progressively to new spheres of life as these emerge. Mohammedan morality unfortunately conveys the impression of resting not upon

great moral principles but of consisting merely of formal and ritualistic prescriptions.

According to Islam you may sin, but if at the same time you denounce it as sin you are guiltless because your views on the subject are correct. Thus the Abi Hanifa creed, called the *Fiqh Akbar* II, reads, "We declare no Moslem an infidel on account of any sin—even though a mortal one—if he does not declare it to be something allowed. Neither do we banish him from the field of faith, nay, we call him really faithful; he may be faithful of bad behavior, but not an infidel." A Moslem rebuked for drinking wine contrary to Moslem prohibitions defended himself in this way: "No," said he, "you are mistaken. If I drink this wine and justify it as a good act, I shall be condemned, for I am denying the Koran and the Prophet. But if I take this glass and say, 'O God, I declare that wine is accursed for thou hast forbidden it, but, O God, thou knowest my weakness and thou art merciful,' and then I drink it, no harm is done." Says Reuben Levy in his scholarly study of the sociological aspects of Islam:

According to Ghazzali, speech is a means to certain ends. When a lawful end may be achieved by truth as well as by falsehood, then lying is forbidden (*haram*). If, however, that end can be achieved only by the telling of a lie, then that becomes lawful; it is even imperative if the end is imperative (*wajib*). But it is necessary to guard oneself in the practice of lying, because once the door of falsehood is opened there is danger that it may be used for purposes in which it is unnecessary.[1]

[1] *An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam,* by Reuben Levy, vol. II, p. 79. London, Williams & Norgate, 1933.

Thus the morality of Islam may be described as relative rather than absolute.

On the subject of war, the modern pacifist will find little to support him in Moslem morality. Warfare has the fullest approval of the Prophet both in teaching and in example. Amir Ali, the gracious and devoted defender of Islam, labors in argument to establish parallels between the Moslem *jihad* (holy war) and the conception of a church militant, between the Koranic teachings and such urgings of Jesus as "Compel them to come in," but every orthodox Moslem book is against him. The Koran teaches (4:76), "Let those then fight on the path of God, who barter this present life for that which is to come; for whoever fighteth on God's path, whether he be slain or conquer, we will in the end give him a great reward." The *Hadith* gives a special section to war activities, while the standard tradition reads, "I am ordered to make war on people till they say: There is no god but Allah."

As for many other moral issues, the chief lack in Islam is that it has nothing to say, because the issues have arisen since its day, and this leaves the present-day Moslem, who has always depended on specific prescriptions, without the guidance and help of great moral principles. No one has better expressed this situation of distress and need than Lord Cromer, who had over twenty-five years of practical experience with the Moslem world. Speaking of the young Egyptian, he says, "He finds himself launched on a troubled sea without any rudder and without any pilot. Neither his past history nor his present associations impose any effective moral restraint upon him."

Law and Justice

The welfare of a people is largely affected by the laws of their country and the administration of those laws. The history of the development of law in the Moslem world is very interesting, but there is not room for a discussion of it here.

The most important point for observation, however, is the increasing recognition of the inadequacy of Moslem law for modern world conditions. Its basic and formative idea is that only Moslems can enjoy full legal privileges; it is applicable only to Moslems. For example, recently a thoroughly educated and cultured Moslem doctor, who had established himself in Scotland, married a Scottish woman and had two children. He urged his wife to go to Cairo and solemnly declare herself a Moslem before the *kadi*, or judge. This she did because, since her husband was a Moslem, she as a Christian possessed no legal rights whatever in the eyes of Moslem law. At his death, if ever she entered a Moslem country, the children and all his property could be taken from her.

In addition to problems connected with the presence of non-Moslems in a Moslem land, there are problems due to the clash of modern ideas of punishment and of justice with those sanctioned by Moslem law. For example, the Moslem punishment for theft is that the right hand of the thief be cut off. Owing to such clashes, we find, in a land like Egypt, the withdrawal by the state of the whole range of penal offenses and crime from the jurisdiction of Moslem law and the institution of modern penal courts administering a newly formulated penal code.

As nationalism develops the Moslem patriot is eager to see his country take its place among modern civilized states; he recognizes that nowhere is reform and reconstruction needed so greatly as in this field of law and justice. Which way will he turn? Will he follow the lead of Turkey and throw overboard the *shariat* law with its basic distinctions between Moslem and non-Moslem, and will he shift to the Western and Christian principle of the equality of all individuals before the law, without distinctions of race or sex, religion or nationality?

We have tried to appraise fairly and practically the Moslem's religious background and beliefs. We have tried to recognize their values as well as their limitations as they have influenced the Moslem's daily life. The missionary significance of this study lies in the fact that it leaves us deeply convinced that the Moslem world needs something different from and better than the Moslem religion of the past, which provides no dynamic or ideal for the future regeneration of its followers. That Christianity has values to offer is equally clear, but can Christians share their Christ with Moslems? Will Moslems receive him from us? A later chapter will show that they have never yet been really given that chance.

Chapter Five

FERMENT AND REVOLUTION

TO those who have studied the history of Moslem peoples in recent centuries, the modern period can best be characterized by two words—ferment and revolution. A world that has been regarded as static has become dynamic. Areas of human life which seemed to be dead have been quickened into new life and amazing activity. Books and articles dealing with this period bear titles that reflect this thought: *The Turkish Transformation*, *Spiritual and Political Revolutions in Islam*, *Young Islam on Trek*, *Whither Islam?*, *Turkey Faces West*, *The Moslem Faces the Future*. What is this modern period and what forces have ushered it in?

It ought to be emphasized at the start, however, that the changes which are described in this chapter are still, for the most part, effective only in that narrow border of Moslem life that touches the West. It would also show lack of historic insight to overlook the fact that the dramatic developments of the modern period in Islam must have had roots in earlier decades. Every revolution has a period of incubation before it releases its forces in action. Still the modern period of ferment and revolution may be dated as from the beginning of the World War; this makes it roughly inclu-

sive of the past twenty-five years and, of course, it has yet to run perhaps several decades before its powerful impulses will have registered their full results in the lives of Moslem peoples.

Chief among the causes of this awakening in Moslem lands was the World War. Never in the history of Islam, unless it was during the period of the Crusades, was there such an interpenetration of the East and the West, of the Islamic world and of Christendom. Moslems from India, North Africa and Asia Minor shared in that titanic struggle. Side by side with the representatives of France and England on the one side and of Germany on the other they fought and died.

In addition, the World War carried out its military operations to a great extent on Moslem soil. Where was the ill-starred Gallipoli campaign waged that cost Britain several battleships and 200,000 men, but in Moslem territory? General Townshend's disastrous expedition in Mesopotamia was likewise in Moslem territory. General Allenby's brilliant advance into Palestine and Syria was in Moslem territory. Add to this the training of Australian and New Zealander troops in Egypt, Moslem territory; the recruiting of labor battalions in North Africa, Moslem territory; the reinforcements of Indian troops from Northern India, Moslem territory.

As a result of this intermingling of Christendom and Islam two marked changes were observable. First, the isolation and insulation of Moslem lands passed away. Old political barriers, social barriers, intellectual prejudices, religious conventions—all seemed to have been carried away as by some

great tidal wave. Doors formerly shut stood wide open; rather the very doors had disappeared, doorpost, doorcase, hinges and all. The second change was a shift from religious thinking to secular-mindedness. The mosque and minaret began to have less importance than the ginning mill and the factory. Religious consciousness yielded to economic considerations. Western science and invention, Western social ideals and nationalism, these caught the imagination and the interest of Moslem peoples. By way of secularism, perhaps even materialism, the great divide between Christian and Moslem was bridged; common interests were discovered.

Following the war came an era of travel abroad, whether for pleasure, or for study, or for business; and an increasing proportion of the upper classes in Moslem lands gained a first-hand acquaintance with Western countries. The effect of such travel cannot be measured. Contrasts emerged between the extreme poverty in Eastern lands and the favorable economic conditions in Western lands, between illiteracy there and literacy here, between the almost total absence of mechanical inventions in Moslem countries and the complete equipment of life with mechanical conveniences in Christendom, between social conditions in which woman was suppressed and a social order in which she occupies a central position. Such travel impressions ploughed deep into the sensitive minds of the visitors from Eastern lands and they carried back with them a holy discontent.

This so-called modern period has been marked also by the coming of science into the Islamic world—both the inventions science has produced and the new conceptions that it carries with it. We need only stop to think of the revolu-

tionary significance of science as it forced its way into the life and thought of Europe during the centuries that followed Copernicus. Its effect upon every sphere of life—theology, the social order, political conceptions, economic life—is recognized. But in Europe science invaded life slowly, because it was itself in process of development. How much more startling the effect when the life and thought of Moslem peoples, for centuries almost wholly untouched by science, became suddenly exposed to the full glare of scientific light in this modern period. The revolution that had taken place slowly and gradually in Europe during three centuries began to take place in a like number of decades in the Moslem world; it was as if three hundred years had been telescoped into thirty. "The acids of modernity" began to eat away age-honored traditions and century-long beliefs.

A fourth factor ushering in this period of ferment and revolution was the spirit of nationalism. We shall presently comment upon the outworking of this new conception in the life of Moslem peoples. Here we need only recognize it as a titanic force that has upheaved the life of Moslem peoples. It is difficult for Western peoples who are familiar with the conception of nationality and who gained their own national self-consciousness decades ago, to realize how great is the thrill, how passionate are the impulses, how baffling are the problems, that belong to a people experiencing the birth pangs of national self-consciousness for the first time. Like a tidal wave nationalism has swept over Moslem peoples, engaging their whole attention, obliterating social and religious divisions that seemed unbridgeable, and arousing unsuspected moral resources.

Finally, to explain the modern period we must recognize the power of a whole group of conceptions connected with Western civilization and indeed largely Christian in their origin and character, which have permeated the thought life of Moslem lands. Borne upon the pages of books and magazines, carried along by the telegraph and radio, visualized by movie and illustrated journals, these basic conceptions have possessed revolutionary power in the thinking of Moslem youth, in particular. These conceptions have to do with the position of woman in society, the democratic principle in the political order, freedom of social relations between the sexes, freedom of thought in religion, the separation of church and state, just to name a few of the most stimulating ideas responsible for the present-day ferment. It is at this point that the profound influence of a century and a half of Christian missions should be recognized. Their schools and colleges, their literature, the ideals they have steadily presented have acted as a leaven and aided materially in ushering in this new day.

To appreciate the character and extent of the changes which belong to the modern period in the world of Islam, it will be best to examine them as they affect different spheres of life.

Social Changes

Of all the present-day changes that are taking place in the Moslem world most important are those having to do with the position of woman. Elsewhere it has been pointed out that the most lamentable feature of Moslem life has been the position assigned to woman—veiled, illiterate, confined to the harem, always inferior to man, either a toy or a slave,

dishonored by polygamy and divorce, discriminated against in a thousand ways. Yet today in almost every Moslem land movements are on foot for woman's emancipation.

Turkey took the lead. The veil was increasingly discarded voluntarily; later on, it was banished legally. In 1926, the principle of reciprocity was recognized in respect to divorce. Four years later, woman was given the right to vote in municipal elections and a woman was appointed judge. Four years later still the right of women to vote and hold office was extended to the National Assembly itself. Where formerly men and women were separated by socio-religious conventions, today they live, work and take their pleasures side by side. Where formerly two women witnesses at court counted as one man witness, now the two sexes are on a basis of equality. Women leaders in national life rival men in ability though not in numbers. In 1929 the first woman magistrate took office and in 1932 the first woman public prosecutor. Said Esma Nayman at the Interparliamentary Conference in Brussels, "In no other country in the world has feminism made such dramatic progress. From the shadow of Islam woman has stepped into the sunlight of emancipation." Thirty women deputies were elected to the Kurultay, the great National Assembly of Turkey, for 1936.

Next to Turkey, Iran has made the most striking social changes. On January 8, 1936, the queen and her two daughters appeared in public in European dress. This was the signal for a general unveiling of the wives of the members of the cabinet, of women in families of high officials and those in government service, and of women teachers and

pupils in government schools. To put pressure on the masses, women wearing veils were refused admission to cinemas and cafés and were not allowed to ride in public conveyances. Finally, shopkeepers were forbidden to sell their wares to women wearing veils. Could reform be applied more drastically? The government in Iran is opening its higher schools to women, and they may now qualify as stenographers and clerks in government offices.

In Syria there are not merely women's clubs, but a federation of women's clubs has been organized in Beirut and has held conferences to promote service programs throughout the country. Among the topics studied and dealt with by such clubs have been native schools, child labor, factory hours for women and girls, and the white slave traffic. Of course, such clubs are made up of Christians as well as of Jews and Moslems. In countries where there is a Christian community, the greater liberty which Christian women enjoy has a reflex influence for progress among Moslems. Yet, again and again, the religious cleavage exerts its baneful influence and sometimes the Moslem majority will not permit the more progressive Christian women to take the lead.

In India, Moslem women have fought for the removal of the veil. As late as 1931 Lady Abdul Qadir addressed the Lahore conference of Moslem ladies from behind a curtain. Now she and others have gained their freedom. But in India, Moslem women had the reinforcement of progressive Christian and Hindu women who raised their voices against the *purdah* system. One would suppose that Moslem women in India, being so far away from the Arabic-speaking areas

recognized as the most conservative, could realize their liberty with ease. Quite the contrary, and the Ahmadiyas, supposed to be a reforming sect, lend them no help.

As one approaches the Arabic-speaking centers of Arabia and Egypt, one feels the resistance to modernization stiffen, and nowhere is this more evident than in the concessions accorded to woman. To the day of his death, King Fuad I of Egypt maintained the system of harem seclusion in his palace. At palace receptions neither the queen nor the wife of any Egyptian official was ever seen, even though the foreign diplomatic corps and other foreign guests were present with their wives. Yet Egyptian social life is in a state of ferment or suppressed revolution on this point. At Alexandria, Egyptian officials sailing for Europe, where they are permitted freely to accord liberty to their women, can be seen on board their steamers, the man with his fez, the woman veiled. Barely has the steamer pulled away from shore when the man goes down to his cabin and pulls out his hat; the woman, some Parisian creation; thus do they tour through Europe without restraint. But when the steamer brings them back to Alexandria, down to their cabins they go to get out the fez and the veil, because the Court has not yet done away with the seclusion of the harem.

Yet Western ideas gain ground. Increasingly in gardens and along the Nile young men and women are seen walking together. Past customs required the man to walk several feet ahead, the woman behind; but now they walk side by side. Even yet, there is a measure of hesitation, for many a young man who will go in public with a young woman

for a walk or even to the cinema will hesitate to let his sister go with another man. Not yet is it quite proper.

In the great public hall of the American University at Cairo, Madame Sharawi Pasha, the leading feminist of Egypt, a woman of rare ability and charm, was lecturing on the progress of woman in the East. After reviewing in a statesmanlike way progress achieved in China and India, Iran and Iraq, Turkey and Syria, she dealt with Egypt. "Here," she said, "we need to work for the restriction [a diplomatic way of saying the suppression] of polygamy." Instantly two sheikhs of the conservative school jumped to their feet and shouted, "Long live polygamy!" The crowd was supposed, if in sympathy, to reverberate the cry, "Long live polygamy." It is the Oriental technique for breaking up a meeting when the audience is displeased with it. But no one "reverberated." Crestfallen, the two sheikhs at last sat down, and the speaker proceeded to undergird her views with sound and irrefutable reasons, some of them even drawn from the Koran itself.

A quotation from an Arabic newspaper suggests the specious arguments by which the die-hards defend their views:

> Madame Hoda Sharawi says that polygamy dishonors the Orient in the eyes of the civilized world. She does not know that polygamy has just been advocated by several distinguished thinkers of the West and they urge its re-establishment after having given long thought to the conditions of happiness in the married state. . . . These gentlemen find in polygamy the finest guarantee of happiness in the family and in the home. Besides, how can the president of the Feminist Union of Egypt ask for the suppression of a practice sanctioned by religion?

The emancipation of woman involves a larger group of issues than most people suspect. Among them the following may be named as having been stressed in turn by the feminist movements in different countries. Most of these issues are among the desiderata of conditions in Moslem lands:

1. Monogamy, as against polygamy—four legal wives plus concubinage.
2. Divorce subjected to restraints and procedures, as against divorce by the sheer will and fiat of the husband.
3. The right of woman to get a divorce for cause, as against man alone possessing the right of divorce.
4. Equality with man in respect to inheritance.
5. The right to personal independence, as against the theory that a woman is always subject to the guardianship of the nearest male relative.
6. A reasonable age limit for girls below which marriage is forbidden.
7. Equality of girls with boys in matters of education, and access to higher schools.
8. Free social intercourse of men and women, with the consequent abolition of the veil and harem seclusion systems.
9. The right of a woman to share in the decision as to the man she shall marry and to know him beforehand.
10. The right to vote.
11. The right to hold office.

It is curious to note that it has been easier to secure for woman political rights than to secure for her a worthy place in the social order. Indeed, at the moment, Moslem Turkish women may vote where their French sisters cannot. Perhaps true social equality cannot yet be given; it

must await the attainment by the Moslem woman of the education and intelligence, the character and poise, that only she may earn and that will eventually entitle her to a status of equality.

Before leaving the subject of woman's emancipation, it is worth while to remind ourselves that the full realization of the ideal lies far, far ahead. The movements we have described are for the most part movements among the intelligentsia of the cities, affecting at the utmost but ten per cent of the population. Furthermore much of what has been portrayed is still in the sphere of idealism; it has yet to be translated into actuality.

Education

Closely related to the stirrings in the social sphere are those that have taken place in the sphere of education. There is something challenging in the zeal with which Moslem peoples are addressing themselves to education. It is regarded as the open-sesame to progress and to every form of achievement. And rightly so, if only the word were given its right and full significance. Still the changes are inspiring; and they are significant both for quantity and extent and for quality and content.

Picture clearly the old type of school: Koran-centered, teaching religious tenets and practices, without science, glorifying the Arabic language, without foreign languages, purely scholastic, destitute of athletics or extra-curricular activities, formal in its methods of instruction, relying supremely on memory, limited to a textbook, destitute of library equipment, relying on lectures, without laboratory

or experimentation. Add to the picture a background of illiteracy: 80 per cent in Syria, 85 per cent in Turkey, 88.3 per cent in Egypt.

Read now the report issued by the Turkish government. In quantity and numbers, the government schools have gone in ten years from 5,062 schools (1923-24) to 6,973 (1933-34); from 12,437 teachers to 19,707; from 358,548 pupils to 656,772. Totally different is the new school at these six vital points: (1) It is secular. Religion is not only no longer the center; it is even excluded wholly and absolutely. We must remember that the soul of the Turk was embittered by what he thinks religion, the Moslem religion in this case, did to retard progress. (2) It also aims to unify the country by a dominantly patriotic educational policy. (3) It is democratic and popular; compulsory for the primary grades, but open to all, save in the case of certain specialized schools; without distinction as to sex, social or economic differences. (4) It is practical and in a sense vocational. (5) It gives a place to athletics. (6) It includes a program for adult education, through which 1,288,000 people have learned to read.

In Egypt, in 1913, the beginning of our modern period, there were 400,000 students in school out of a population of 12,000,000 people; this meant 3.5 per cent, against 15 per cent in Italy and France and 24 per cent in the United States. In 1931, the total enrollment was 922,226. More significant was the larger place given to education in the budget of the country; in 1918-19 it was allotted $6,374,995, but only ten years later the appropriation for education had risen to $21,997,010.

In Iran, the government has been emphasizing education and trying to remedy a situation in which only 10 per cent of the children of school age (20 per cent in the cities) were actually in school.

In Iraq, during the life of King Feisal very daring plans were on foot for education. A group of American educationists were invited to go out as a commission and survey the field so as to guide the government in its educational plans. Their report is worthy of careful study.[1]

As one sees, in country after country, this pathetic eagerness for a national system of education that will lift these lands not merely out of illiteracy but out of a widespread intellectual stagnation, it would seem incredible that the Christian educationist could not find a way to lend a hand. Nationalism may be closing the primary school to the foreigner. The day of the cheap mission secondary school may have passed. But the day of vital Christian educational work would seem to be just beginning, providing the price of complete disinterestedness and thoroughness be paid.

Even the sacrosanct curriculum of the venerable Azhar, world center of Moslem theology at Cairo, is undergoing a change. Its present most enlightened and progressive chancellor, Sheikh el-Maraghy, recently criticized its old program of studies that would devote fifteen years to the study of exegesis, grammar, syntax, rhetoric in three parts, principles, jurisprudence and logic; and would omit geography, history, arithmetic, physics and chemistry, "of which," he says, "no one in this age should be ignorant."

[1] "Report of the Educational Inquiry Commission," edited by Paul Monroe. 1932.

Economic Life

It will be observed that Moslem lands are for the most part given to agriculture or grazing and handicrafts. The reason is not far to seek. The absence of science in Mohammedan lands naturally delayed industrialization. Machinery must be available in great perfection and a population must be mechanically minded to develop the great industries. With the opening up of Moslem lands and life since the World War, machinery has come in apace from the West. But another reason also obtained. Nationalism with its ambitious programs required money, and a national income was possible only through the economic development of the country.

In Turkey, agricultural development and industrialization went hand in hand. By cutting off foreign competition and by improving methods of growing wheat at home, an importation of wheat and flour valued at 12,000,000 Turkish pounds in 1923 was cut down to nothing in 1933, the country becoming economically independent at this point. There was developed the manufacture of cement, sugar, textiles, cellulose and paper. A five-year economic plan was launched; one hundred students were sent abroad to study and prepare for its execution; economic laws have been passed to promote the plan; a banking system has been established; above all, by almost superhuman courage and tenacity the national budget has been balanced, the nation's credit has been undergirded and Turkey has kept herself free from further international entanglements through foreign borrowings.

The economic development of Iraq has come as a gift from heaven in so far as oil is concerned. Imagine what it has meant for the modest national budget of Iraq to receive royalties on vast quantities of oil each year, in connection with the operation of the Iraq-Mediterranean Pipe Line. This line transported, in 1935, across desert, river and mountain, 3,449,199 tons of oil to two seaports at distances of 500 and 600 miles. It runs from Iraq to Haifa and to Tripoli, on the Mediterranean, and thus crosses Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordania. It cost $50,000,000 to install. A single project like this has had tremendous significance for a previously quiet, retiring, isolated, unambitious, undeveloped country like Iraq. Similarly in Iran, over $2,625,000 comes to that country annually from the Anglo-Iranian royalties.

A wonderful story could be written about the economic development of Palestine since the war. In it would be an account of unbelievable land booms; stories too of great initiative in irrigation, the development of vast orange orchards, the opening of a great seaport. But all this belongs to the history of Zionism and has little to do with the Arab population, save as the latter shared in the economic prosperity and then warred against being submerged by the steadily rising tide of Jewish immigration.

In Egypt, the economic development of the country rests upon foundations laid by the British, chiefly in Cromer's time when every piaster that could be saved was reinvested in irrigation to yield more taxable land, whose income could be applied to still more irrigation, until at last the agricultural area of Egypt was increased by one-fifth and a bank-

rupt country became a solvent country. But while the British laid the foundations of economic development, today Egypt has developed at least a few economic leaders of her own who would be rated in the West as men of first-rank ability and insight. Bank Misr, a wholly Egyptian institution, has played a large part in developing new industries, and the recent Industrial Exposition showed textile goods made in Egypt equal to those made abroad and much cheaper.

The economic factor looms so large in any country's life and development, setting its stamp, whether "for richer or for poorer," upon every other sector of the nation's life—education, social life, health, morals and even religion—that it is important even for Christian missions to note from this hasty survey how these Moslem areas are now emerging from conditions of debasing poverty to greater hope and material comfort. It also offers an explanation for the increasing cost of missionary endeavor.

National and Political Life

To Americans especially, the intense fascination which politics have for the Oriental mind is inexplicable. But to this common characteristic is to be added today the spirit of nationalism, which has come like an all-absorbing infatuation upon Moslem lands and peoples. Of all things new this is the newest, and of all things revolutionary this is the most so to a Moslem mind.

Let us try to picture the old-time orthodox Mohammedan political conception, which persisted almost to the beginning of the World War. It was basically a conception of a

Holy Islamic Empire, paralleling the old medieval idea in Europe of a Holy Roman Empire. In the Moslem world it went by the name of Pan-Islamism. It conceived of church and state as one. Geographical areas had no significance; they were only places of residence. The Moslem was not an Egyptian, or a Turk, or an Afghan, or a Tunisian, politically. Whatever the country of his origin, he was a member of the Pan-Islamic Empire.

It will be seen how far removed this conception is from nationalism. In the World War, the Pan-Islamic conception exploded into bits and all the bits came down national bits. Syria now wanted her independence; so did Iraq and Egypt and the Arabs. Not one was ready to join again with the other to form a Holy Islamic Empire. Perhaps no more far-reaching and transforming principle has ever come into the life of the Moslem world since it was first launched than this new principle and conception of nationalism.

When the spirit of nationalism swept over Oriental peoples, it was only natural that they should examine the various political garments which Western nations had adopted to see which style would best serve their needs. Imagine their bewilderment: England, a monarchy, more democratic than any democracy; France, a republic, with a ruling capitalistic group; Italy, a monarchy, with a king not really the king; Russia, a communistic state, but in reality an oligarchy; America, a democracy and a puzzle. Two convictions emerged, seemingly contradictory: the democratic ideal was widely accepted and enthroned and at the same time a form of government moderately imperialistic was practised. There is no doubt about the widespread accept-

ance of the democratic ideal. Everywhere democracy is a word to conjure with. For Moslem lands it represents the opposite pole from the old conservative conception of government. Pan-Islamism had always been associated with absolutism. The sultan had always had absolute power. Centralized control is the form of government with which Moslem peoples are most familiar. So to them the new conception of nationalism carried with it a new conception of democracy.

Yet obviously it was not possible to apply the democratic principle on any wide scale. With their populations ignorant, illiterate, poverty stricken, wholly untrained to share in public life, the form of government for the present must be, to a degree, autocratic, centralized, in a sense Fascist. Thus we have in Turkey, Mustafa Kamal Ataturk, President of the Republic, who is yet as much an absolute ruler, albeit a wise one, as any sultan of the old régime. We have in Iran, His Imperial Highness, Riza Shah Pahlavi, whose word avails to build railroads, unveil women, establish universities, dictate foreign policy and mobilize an army.

With the coming of nationalism, a new emphasis began to be placed upon unity. In Egypt processions were staged in which Moslem and Christian united; at times standards were carried, bearing on the same banner the sign of the crescent and the sign of the cross. The age-long chasm between Moslem and Copt became bridged. Recently, where political party strife was endangering the fruits of national negotiations with Great Britain, the students of Cairo demonstrated in favor of a united front. In Turkey, this national unity has been achieved not by cooperation but by total

elimination of alien elements. Thus the Armenian and the Greek elements were expelled from the country, if by this means, perchance, a truly Turkish nation might be created.

It is partly to achieve unity more completely and partly out of national pride and jealousy for the nation's language, that the amazing language reforms have been instituted. To shake loose from all subserviency to Arabic or Persian, and also to deepen the impression that Turkey is a Western country, the Turkish written characters were all Romanized in 1928. Imagine what a revolution this was: shop signs, street signs, railroad signs, hotel menus—all had to be changed to the Roman form; newspapers and books had to be printed in the new characters; printing presses had to replace all their old fonts of type with new. Nor was this a mere gesture of transliteration. It was proposed to limit speech itself to words of Turkish origin. A committee was appointed to investigate the resources of the Turkish language. Hundreds of thousands of word lists were made out in different parts of the country and were studied with a view to preparing a dictionary of *bona fide* Turkish words. A similar national consciousness developed in Moslem countries to the south with reference to the Arabic language.

Nationalism has most especially made use of the school for the promotion of its ideals. Rightly so, for no other instrument for the unification of national life can compare with the school. It is for this reason, and not so much because of hostility to foreign missionary work, that all primary instruction has been taken over by the government in Turkey and that government control has been proposed in Iran.

The nationalistic domination of education may easily reach the point of abuse, when the rising generation becomes entirely regimented in thought, when independence of opinions ends, when history books cease to be truthful with reference to the country's own past and with reference to other countries, when professorial freedom of thought and speech is limited—in short, when public education ceases to be education and becomes propaganda. Nationalism has already gone to such lengths in some Moslem lands; yet there is small wonder, when it has gone to such hopeless lengths in countries of Europe.

The influence of the nationalistic spirit upon religion in a Moslem country is an interesting study. It moves in two opposite directions. In Turkey nationalism first tried to restrict the sphere of religion: church and state were separated, although Islam was declared in the constitution to be the religion of the state. Finding this inadequate, the constitution was revised in 1928 and Islam ceased to have any state recognition. Religion was likewise excluded wholly from the school. In 1925 the religious orders were disestablished. In other words secularism, complete and universal, became the ideal. Someone has drawn an interesting lesson on this subject out of the history of the celebrated St. Sophia mosque. Before A.D. 532, it was partly pagan and partly Christian; from 538 to 1453, it was a Christian edifice; from 1453 to 1934, it was a Moslem mosque; now it has a secular character, for it is regarded as a museum.

At the opposite pole from Turkey, there are groups in certain Moslem lands who seek to magnify Islam as the religious side of this new nationalism. They interpret Islam

as a state religion, not in the same sense that England regards the Anglican church, but as meaning that only Moslems may represent the state fully and adequately, and that the state should not even countenance the existence of other religions. This interpretation really seeks to reproduce under modern nationalism the church-state idea of Pan-Islamism.

Nationalism, however, has touched many other spheres of life besides those mentioned here, and its touch is often a most wholesome one. Nationalism, for example, has concerned itself with public health and wrought miracles in creating a new zeal for health, with the aim, of course, that the nation may have the support of a more virile population. It has sought to improve and regularize law. Turkey adopted in 1926 a civil code drawn from Switzerland, a penal code from Italy, and a commercial code from Germany and Italy, putting out of existence a medley of separate religious and other codes. Egypt is just now wrestling with the same problem, but so much stronger is the grip of Islam there that the only proposal now agitated is to merge the various Christian courts into one, preserving still Islamic law in all "personal status" cases of Moslems. More may come, however, if the revoking of the Capitulations should be made conditional upon the adoption of a universal modern secularized code of law for the whole country, natives and foreigners, Moslems and Christians.

Religion

Ferment and revolution in the sphere of religion have a special interest for this study. In the case of any religion, in that of Islam especially, ferment and revolution are in-

finitely better than stagnation. Dr. John R. Mott once remarked in another connection, "God Almighty cannot switch a stationary engine." His remark has a profound and hopeful application to religious movements. The forces that have operated in the Moslem religion to bring about changes are well worth noting.

First among these we should name the coming of science, scientific knowledge and scientific viewpoints. Reference has already been made to the dynamic power science had in influencing medieval thought in Europe.[1] Not otherwise has been its effect upon Islam. Nor is the scientific point of view any more congenial to the conservative Moslem mind today than it was to the traditionalist in the days of Galileo. At every point it irritates. Science is so rigid, so merciless in its application of tested experience, so much without reverence for custom and tradition, so absolute in its insistence upon truth. Set loose in a world unaccustomed to it, science seems like a bull in a china shop. But science has come to the Moslem world and there is no denying it entrance, not even into religion. So it is influencing Islamic religious thought and life—both that part which really was given by Mohammed and that larger part which represents accretions since the days of the Prophet, but which is of equal sanctity and authority for nine-tenths of the people.

Its acids begin to eat away much that passed for history. It challenges the accepted astronomy. It undermines the common claims of a literal, infallible, and divinely inspired Koran without variant readings. It pours ridicule on sacred shrines by showing them to be of pagan origin or in mem-

[1] See Chapter Four, p. 83.

ory of "saints" of doubtful character. It robs the sheikh, learned in the Traditions and *shariat* law, of the prestige and authority which he once had. It seems to give its prizes to the servant of the government rather than to the servant of the mosque. It is a dreadful enemy of religion, but also seemingly irresistible, for it has its charms and attractions. It brings the more convenient electric light, which even Al Azhar University installs in place of oil and wick. It brings the sewing machine and the cheaper and more colorful textiles, and so woman's heart is open to it. It performs miracles of cures upon the eyes and body, and so the old beggar for his own sake and the heartbroken father and mother for the sake of their sick child open wide the door for the incoming of science.

Once in, its revolutionary influences are incalculable. To the American University at Cairo came the oldest son of the head of one of the most venerated dervish orders. His father had sent him, lured by science. He wanted his son to have the best that modern education could give. It is doubtful whether he had counted the cost. At the end of a four-year course in the scientific atmosphere of a Western institution, it was no wonder that the son had to write to his father that he could not be his successor at the head of an order of whirling dervishes. One felt infinite pity for the father, but what could be done? There is an explosive power in a new idea that no man may curb. And science is particularly unkind to much that characterizes the Islamic teachings about God. In an earlier chapter it was pointed out that Islam had glorified in God the one attribute of power. And this Absolute Power is also arbitrary, a law unto him-

self, lawless. With such teachings science collides in a head-on fashion.

Yet science is not the only force that has caused ferment and revolution in the sphere of religion among Moslem peoples. There are economic forces operating as well. Economic pressure more than anything else is leading the Moslem business world to relax in respect to the religious prohibition to take interest on money. It is making serious inroads also on the observance of the five daily prayers and the fast of Ramadan and the pilgrimage.

The changes that are taking place in the religious sphere are many and varied in character. Also they shade into each other. However, four general groups, representing different attitudes, are distinguishable with reasonable clearness.

The Reactionaries

First, there are the conservative or even reactionary minds. Ferment and revolution for them means the rehabilitation of Islam. They dwell upon the former religion-centered state, the days of Moslem absolutism, the Pan-Islamic ideals. Their influence is seen in spasmodic attacks upon all Christian missions and foreign institutions, in conferences looking toward the strengthening of Islam by uniting its adherents in a Moslem confederacy, in campaigns to put a mosque in every village and attach one to every official government center or school. The following excerpt from Cairo's daily press illustrates the spirit of this group:

> The principle of polygamy is the cornerstone of the Moslem family, which has been strong and great. Moslem families have made their contribution to the glory of Islam.

The Moslem is a crowned king in his family. He is surrounded by respect and glory. His orders are obeyed. The family must be sorry if he is sorry and happy if he is happy. Everyone runs to serve him and competes to secure his love and thus obey God and the Prophet.

In January, 1935, a Moslem summary court was dealing with the custody of three children of a formerly Christian family, in which the father had recently become a Moslem. It was proved and admitted that the man had a reputation for immorality, but the court gave to him the custody of the children, saying, "It is expedient that these three children should be given into the custody of their father and taken away from their mother . . . and the charges brought against the plaintiff of bad character and mental instability do not stand, on the principle that a corrupt Moslem is a better man and in a higher position than a *dhimmi* [Christian subject]."

This type of religious reactionary need not claim attention further, because his is a lost cause and his chief power lies in his ability to stir up fanaticism among the masses or to capitalize for any particular issue the natural inertia of people, which is always inimical to change.

The Conservative Reformers

A second attitude is represented by the conservative reformers. The influence and importance of this group are very great. Within it there are important differences of conservatism and liberalism, but the group as a whole is loyal to historic Islam and is religiously minded. Its outstanding leaders have been such personalities as Charles C. Adams

has portrayed in his most informing and authoritative book, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*[1]—leaders such as Jamal al-Din al Afghani, Mohammed Abdu, and Mohammed Rashid Rida. Some of these have lived and exerted an influence in other countries besides Egypt. There is space here merely to point out a few of the outstanding religious developments promoted by this group, in some cases successfully, in others not.

Most important is a shift from extreme traditionalism and mere authority to a more liberal attitude. A larger play is allowed to reason in matters of religion and a logical interpretation of theological questions (*ijtihad*) is permitted by a doctor of Islamic law. This opens the door for many developments. A distinction is drawn between the letter of Moslem law and the spirit or intent. Distinctions are drawn also between modern interpretations which may fit in better with progress, and those of earlier periods. For example, a *fatwa* (religious official interpretation) now makes it legal to deposit money in the government postal savings bank; another permits eating flesh slain by Jews and Christians. Appeal is also made to the authority of *ijma*, or the agreement of Moslems. Polygamy is restricted by arguing from Mohammed's injunction to be fair to one's wives. Holy war is interpreted as defensive war. And most recent is the *fatwa* permitting the translation of the Koran into foreign tongues. It surely represents a new day to see Moslems joining in conferences with other religions, such as the July, 1936, World Congress of Faiths in London. As usual, the gathering gave all religions a chance to present, eulogistically and

[1] New York, Oxford University Press, 1933.

euphemistically, what they stood for. The paper of the rector of the Azhar, Sheikh el-Maraghi, made the following claims for Islam:

> In the principles of Islam are found the strongest pillars on which the idea of fellowship rests. It establishes that there is no compulsion in religion and the Prophet of Islam was thus addressed: "What! Wilt thou force the people to become believers!" Islam makes its appeal to reason and urges the meditation on God's creation. It urges to charity and kindness, to the helping of the weak and the poor; nay, it even urges kindness to animals, so much so that it made the treasury responsible for the maintenance of the stray animal.

For Islam to be represented at all in such a gathering marks a new day for broad-mindedness and tolerance.

An entirely separate and different phase of the reconstruction of Islam is to be found in the Ahmadiya movement in India. It represents to so great a degree an effort to make Islam presentable to English-speaking people and is so generally repudiated by the orthodox Moslem authorities in all Moslem lands that we may well pass it by here.

The Mystics

A third group to be noted in present-day Islam consists of those to whom formal religion means but little, whereas its mystical values represent to them its all in all. This mysticism dates back to the very beginnings of Islam. It possesses Christian, Hindu, Persian and Greek ingredients, but is essentially Moslem in character. The great Ghazzali was the master mind that gave to it form and substance,

safeguards and definitions. It goes by the name of Sufism, because of an early custom of wearing a white woolen cloak. In these days of the disintegration of formal religion and the secularization of life, the mystical wells of Islam have been more carefully and widely cherished and drawn upon. For example, you may go any day toward eventide to the shrine of the Baktashi dervishes back of the citadel in Cairo and you will be impressed and touched by the steady stream of women climbing its steep stairway to say their daily prayer and receive heart comfort and healing: old wrinkled women from whose lives has been squeezed the last drop of joy in living, black-eyed sprightly maidens with hope and health and love still theirs, mothers bearing their sick children that disease may be checked, barren women wistfully hoping for children who may stand between them and divorce. To all these, the mosques and the learned sheikhs, the doctrines and the formal prayers matter not at all. Through superstition they dimly feel, and through traditional story they dimly see, that God is near and cares. So too in the upper levels of life one is repeatedly coming across intellectuals who likewise find their religious satisfaction in mystical meditations and practices.

The Secularists

The fourth group is composed of those in whom ferment and revolution have spelled the entire secularization of life and the rejection of religion. Life has become secularized either by purely intellectual processes or through an absorption in pleasure or economic activity. Science, business and pleasure represent the supreme interests; religion no longer

figures. Yet these will retain their allegiance to Islam and will call themselves Moslems, although the implications are purely cultural. They mean that they have no intention of giving up the name, the atmosphere, the customs, the traditions, and the viewpoints of their Moslem world for those of the foreigner. In exactly the same sense will an irreligious Westerner assert that he is a Christian and no heathen. This secularization of life has gone farthest and fastest in Turkey, but it is a strong trend in every one of the great commercial centers of the Moslem world.

As we review these developments of the modern period among Moslem peoples, what impression do they make upon us? Is there not a profound feeling of superhuman forces moving over the face of the Moslem world today? Do not such changes seem to possess a significance greater than that of a mechanical rise and fall in the tide of human affairs? And if there be purpose, a divine purpose, what ends are being served?

As we look at these remarkable changes in Islam and hold to a world view in which God is and is at work in the world, we find ourselves solemnized by a sense of his presence and a sense of his purposeful working. Since God never works alone but always in and through men, must there not be some supplementary human task whose performance by us he is confidently awaiting, to make effective what he has already achieved in the Moslem world? We must examine with scrupulous care the nature of this task, for it constitutes our responsibility.

Chapter Six

ISLAM'S CONTACT WITH CHRISTENDOM

THE Christian approach to the Moslem, if it is to be an intelligent one, requires a clear picture of Islam's past contact with Christendom. And this for several reasons. The zeal of many Christians in respect to winning the Moslem has been dampened by the thought that perhaps the Moslem world has had its chance and has refused it. An understanding of Islam's past contact with Christendom—observe, we say Christendom rather than Christianity—may clear up such misgivings. Again, many are unable to explain the rise of Islam in the midst of Christendom—Islam, the only great world religion since Christ. This chapter may provide the explanation. It may also help to explain the settled attitude of hostility of the Moslem toward Christianity.

Christian missions to Moslems are indeed at a great disadvantage, as compared with missions to other non-Christian religions, because they do not bring a new, unheard-of gospel. For the Moslem, as not for the Hindu or the Confucianist or the pagan, Christianity is an old story, regarded as having been thoroughly explored and appraised as inferior. For thirteen centuries Christendom has been a next-door neighbor to the Moslem world, and out of innumer-

able contacts there have emerged in the Moslem mind fixed and definite impressions as to what Christianity represents. The past has left a legacy of prejudice and hostility, of clearly defined suspicion and misunderstanding, that cannot be overlooked in present-day missions.

Mohammed's Contacts with Christianity

Two opposite impressions are gained from a study of Mohammed's contacts with Christianity. To examine Mohammed's references to Christianity is to be convinced of his direct contact with some Christian truth, and yet also it is to marvel at the imperfection of his knowledge of Christian teachings and Bible stories. Friendly though he obviously is toward "the people of the Book" and counting himself in direct line with the earlier revelations given through Moses and the prophets and through Jesus, nevertheless his distortions of Christian truth lead one to the belief that his sources of information must have been very inadequate.

The following facts suggest a considerable contact with Christianity that can be proved. Three great trade routes radiated from Arabia, to Egypt, to Syria and to Persia. In these three lands Christianity was well established. It is inconceivable that Christian influences would not spread from these lands into Arabia, and, as a caravan leader, Mohammed must have had considerable contact with them. Along the Syrian frontier and even in Yemen there were Christian ascetics and hermits whose service to the needy excited favorable comment. Mohammed's first wife had a Christian cousin; his favorite concubine, Miriam, was of

Christian origin; one of his later wives was an Arab woman who had become a Christian in Abyssinia.

Most unfortunately, there was no Arabic translation of the Old Testament or the Gospels in Mohammed's day. Indeed a written Arabic language had only developed shortly before the time of Mohammed. It stirs the imagination to think how profoundly the whole stream of Moslem thought and the very gospel delivered by Mohammed to the world might have been influenced for good, had there been in existence the Christian Scriptures in the Arabic language. No, what reached him would at best come by loose translations of Syriac scripture readings and, what was seriously misleading, innumerable apocryphal gospels that had wide currency among the Christians of Arabia and Syria. From sources like these would come stories such as the one of Jesus making birds from clay. Laurence E. Browne sums up the situation as follows:

> The conclusion to which we seem to be forced is that the main religious influence acting upon Mohammed was what passed for orthodox Christianity in his day. That is not to say that he had any clear or full idea of the life and teaching of contemporary Christians, but rather that, living and moving in places where Christians were frequently coming and going, he assimilated such Christian ideas as distilled over into the outward daily life and common thought of Christians.[1]

Such a judgment drives us back to an appraisal of the Christianity that was current in the Near East in Mo-

[1] From *The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia*, by Laurence E. Browne, p. 23. By permission of The Macmillan Co., New York, publishers.

hammed's time. It is not an inspiring picture that rises before us. Even if a better case could be made out for Western Christianity at this time, Eastern Christianity, as Browne points out, stood on a much lower level. For one thing it had not enjoyed the support of strong intellectuals, as in the West. The Oriental churches were not famed for vigorous thinking. Nor had these churches enjoyed that state support which gave to the Western churches a sense of security, a dignity and even popularity, and such great sources of material wealth and personnel that they could explore rapidly the values of Christian life and organization in intellectual, social and national spheres. In the East generally, Christianity represented rather a minority group and occupied too often an inferior position with all of its disadvantages. In the East, too, speculative disputes, heresies of doctrine, and unbalanced views of life vitiated Christianity to a greater degree than in the West.

Far more damaging was the wave of monasticism that had swept over Christianity in the East, with its defeatist spirit. In describing its effect upon Egypt, which was at that time a Christian nation, one writer calls it "the suicide of the Egyptian nation." It proved so extensive in its power and its influence was so baneful that we may say that monasticism, more than any other single factor, proved the undoing of the Christian church in Egypt. Canon Gairdner has expressed the opinion that Islam with its polygamy may be regarded as a natural reaction against the excesses of Christian asceticism which prevailed in Mohammed's day.

Finally, it must be pointed out that in large areas Christianity existed only in name. Pagan practices continued,

making strange use of Christian or Jewish names and religious ideas.

In view of the fact that Mohammed enjoyed at best only inadequate and intermittent contact with Christians and was brought into touch for the most part with the Christianity of the lower classes with whom popular myths and fables figure largely, it is no wonder that he was not deeply affected by Christianity. Vital Christianity probably never had its chance with him. For him, therefore, his first-hand experiences of God, were they ever so crude, towered high above the seeming formalities and unrealities, or mere intellectualities, of the Christian religion: God was; God had spoken to him, to him Mohammed; God had commissioned him, Mohammed, to be a prophet, to declare the greatness and the unity of Allah to all the world. In the light of his great commission, the revelations of the Christian religion which reached Mohammed seemed but curious speculations, petty traditions and customs of men.

One cannot help feeling that had the early church—in Syria, in Egypt, in Byzantium—been truly missionary in spirit, the great peninsula of Arabia would have been evangelized long before the advent of Mohammed and vital Christianity would have existed there in a form able to outmatch with its own dynamic appeal whatever elements in Islam have challenged the hearts of men. Above all, the Bible would have been translated into Arabic before the advent of Mohammed and thus a clear stream of spiritual teaching would have watered the spiritually parched areas of Arabian life. It is a solemnizing lesson for the Christian church that out of this neglected field of Arabia, overlooked

and left unevangelized, there should have arisen a religion that more than any other has made Christianity stagger. Is not every unevangelized area—whether geographical or intellectual, economic or social, national or international—a danger spot that may give birth to systems of life and thought that can challenge the very life of Christianity?

The Period of Conquest

When Mohammed died on June 8, A.D. 632, not even all of Arabia had been conquered by Islam. Yet, during the next hundred years, that faith swept over the whole of Arabia, Syria, Egypt and North Africa, which includes today Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. It leaped across into Europe. It occupied Spain, which it held for seven hundred years. It ventured beyond the Pyrenees and seemed about to take possession of all of Europe, when the advancing tide was stemmed by Charles Martel and his troops at the battle of Tours. Eastward and northward too it advanced, threatening Byzantium and Armenia, taking possession of Mesopotamia and Persia, piercing through Afghanistan to India. Thus, in one brief century, it covered a vast territory extending from the Atlantic to the Indus, and most of this territory had been reckoned Christian.

It is natural to ask, What contact had Islam with Christianity during this century of conquest? We have noted the streams of Christian influence which surrounded or flowed into Arabia during the life of Mohammed and we found them muddied streams. Would Islam gain a more favorable impression of Christianity in the Christian lands it conquered?

In the first place, it must be admitted that wars of conquest do not generate an atmosphere favorable to an appreciation of religious values, be these ever so real and obvious. The Islamic invader was too greatly preoccupied with his sword and with the issues of conquest, with the problem of mastering the country and harvesting booty, to have time or inclination for any appraisal of his captive's spiritual or moral qualities. Warfare generally is so completely of the devil that it affords little opportunity for the play or display of Christian influences. Moreover, the invading Arab forces felt more and more, the farther their conquests carried them away from Arabia, that they were among alien peoples with whom they had nothing in common. This feeling of racial distinction is one of the greatest hindrances to missionary influences even today. Barriers of race, language, customs, and temperament carry over into the religious sphere, and the two groups feel so separated from each other that it never occurs to either to give any consideration whatever to the religious beliefs or moral standards of the other. All is quickly dismissed with the feeling, expressed or unspoken, that these are "their ways, not ours." This does not exclude, of course, innumerable personal contacts that may yield results in individuals. Islam as a whole, however, was little affected, if at all, by the Christianity it dealt with in the period of its conquests.

The Period of Islamic Culture

If the contacts of Islam with Christianity during the lifetime of Mohammed and during the subsequent period of conquest were not such as to convey to the Moslem

world any adequate conception of Christian truth and life, what of the still later period, the Golden Age of Islamic culture? The period which we have thus characterized extends with interruptions from A.D. 750 to 1100. It includes the early rule of the Abbasids, which, while it lasted five centuries (750-1258), reached its zenith in the days of Harun al-Rashid (d. 809). This wave of culture swept on into later centuries and resulted in the founding of such centers of learning and study as the great Mustansiriyah, the proudest of Moslem universities, which was established in Baghdad as late as the thirteenth century. To this period should also be added periods of cultural development that are associated with such names as Avicenna (980-1037) and Averroes (1126-1198), Arabic scholars who made notable contributions in the fields of medicine, mathematics and philosophy.

Whether in the East or in the West, these periods of Islamic culture might well have afforded, by way of philosophy and theology if not by way of practical religion, an unusual opportunity for enriching contacts between the Moslem and the Christian camps. For one thing, the prevailing atmosphere was now one of peace, which is more favorable to the penetration of religious ideas than is a period of military conquest.

These periods are also known as the periods of the greatest activity in the work of translation. During the reign of Al-Mamun a regular school of translation was created in Baghdad. While much of this translation work dealt with the original Greek sources of philosophy and medicine, it created an atmosphere and an attitude of mind favorable to

the exploration of the views and conceptions, the philosophic and religious ideas of Christian peoples and thinkers generally.

Another factor made these periods of Islamic culture peculiarly friendly to the examination of Christian truth. This was the rise into power, both at Baghdad and in Spain, of the Mutazilites. This movement is one of the most significant in the history of Islam. It might be regarded as a Protestantism that failed, a rationalistic tendency which promised great things for Islam but ultimately was overborne by traditionalism and authoritarianism. During the period of Islamic culture, it was in the ascendancy and with it freedom of thought prevailed, supported by Abbasid rulers in Baghdad. It was openly declared by the Mutazilite that the Koran was created: the hand and mind of man shared in its composition; therefore it contained imperfections.

These periods of Islam were also marked by amazing tolerance. Christians held positions of high influence in the government. They were even heads of the war office, viziers, private secretaries, treasurers. Apparently at times the management of the whole country was in their hands. With such conditions making possible free interchange of thought, should we not expect Christianity to make a profound impression on Islam? Without denying that in many individual cases, upon the basis of personal relations, there may have been strong and even transforming influences exerted by Christians upon Moslems, still there is no evidence—no evidence such as existed in the early Christian periods in the Roman Empire—of a dynamic influence exerted by the Christian witness through either life or teachings.

Laurence E. Browne, in his book *The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia*, has endeavored to appraise the value of Christian teaching and life as it witnessed to the Moslem world. His conclusions are that it was greatly limited to the negative Christian virtues of meekness, humility and the abandonment of the world; that it conceived of the Christ life as contrary to one's nature, thus contradicting the basic message of the incarnation; that in consequence the gap between Creator and creature, which the incarnation was meant to bridge, became impassable; that to maintain this view false definitions were given to Christ's divine-human personality; that the church's veneration of images conveyed to the onlooker an impression of idolatry; that an undue dependence was laid on miracles instead of on moral power for the vindication of Christianity; and, finally, that worldly success and power became the proof of divine approval with a loss, almost total, of the spiritual conception of religion. If this appraisal of Christianity is correct and if this was what the Moslem found in the Christianity of his day, then we need not wonder that it failed to impress Islam. It was not that the crescent conquered the cross; it was that the cross was scarcely in the field at all.

The Period of the Crusades

It was on November 26, 1095, that Pope Urban II delivered that fiery address which gave the crusading movement its first impulse. For two centuries this movement gathered its resources of life and of money in Europe and sent them forth with abandon to break in waves of conquest upon the shores and plains of Palestine with varying

success. The story of the five major Crusades, followed by those of Saint Louis, is a long one and is a thrilling record whether viewed from the side of the Christian or that of the Moslem. Our task is to appraise its influence upon the Moslem mind.

Laurence E. Browne, in the work already mentioned, makes this discerning comment:

> One cannot help regarding the Crusades as the greatest tragedy in the history of Christianity, and the greatest setback to the progress of Christ's kingdom on earth. It must not be supposed that the crusaders were mere hypocrites. Many of them were sincerely trying to follow the highest religion they knew. It was for Christ's honor that they fought, but they were ignorant of what sort of deeds would do honor to Christ. Those among the crusaders who were evil livers, breaking the commandments of Christianity and the laws of the church, we can ignore; for the church itself would have condemned their deeds. The real tragedy lies in the approval by the church of an undertaking that was a complete denial of Christ.[1]

And because the Crusades were in essence a denial of Christ, we cannot look for good to come out of them in their influence upon Islam.

There is not much historical material to draw upon which might give us the mind of Islam in respect to the Crusades. What there is shows that they were regarded purely and simply as wars of aggression on the part of Christendom. As such, they steadily built up attitudes of pure hate, unredeemed by a single value connected with religion. They

[1] From *The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia*, p. 144. By permission of The Macmillan Co., New York, publishers.

contravened every principle of justice and too often gave exhibitions of treachery, broken covenants and baseness on the part of Christians.

Chivalrous spirits on both sides recognized the nobility of soul of their rivals. "If I should be fated to lose the Holy Land I would rather lose to Malik Ric than to any other," was Saladin's tribute to the lovable and utterly brave Richard Coeur de Lion. But it is doubtful whether the least feeling of interest, sympathy or admiration directed toward Christianity resulted in the hearts and minds of Moslem warriors or communities that shared in the Crusades. As well have expected the Ethiopians to discover worthy qualities in the Roman Catholicism of the Italians during their recent invasion of Ethiopia. On the other hand, the legacy of hostility and hate left in Islam generally by the Crusades has lasted through the centuries and constitutes the most serious liability of Christian missions to Moslems and indeed of every endeavor, however pure and unselfish, that today seeks to share with the Moslem the knowledge of God in Christ.

Two outstanding evil results can be set down in particular.

The one is the predetermined belief of the average Moslem that Christianity is the mortal enemy of Islam, that hostility to Christianity must be the accepted attitude between the two camps, that the opposition between the two religions is so complete that all forms of friendly intercourse or cooperation must be deprecated; even listening to Christian exposition is thought to be fraught with danger; frank interchange of religious experience is either impossible or

hypocritical; personal friendships between Moslems and Christians are conceived as never more than formal; in no sense must Christian truth and teaching be regarded as even supplementing Islam. Between Christianity and Islam is fixed a great gulf across which no bridge may be thrown. Such an attitude is obviously a great hindrance for the missionary, for bridge building from one side alone is proverbially difficult; yet such an attitude is the commonplace fact in all Moslem mission fields. The Crusades seem to have given a hostile set to the Moslem mind in its every thought of Christianity.

The other curse of the Crusades is that they helped to fix Christianity in the Moslem thought as something other than a spiritual movement. Christianity came to be conceived of as a world power hostile to Islam. To be sure, Islam thinks of itself as a world power and this makes it doubly easy for the Moslem to conceive of Christianity as being the same sort of religion. But vital Christianity is essentially spiritual, and its spirituality might possibly have been made clear to the Moslem world before now but for the vitiating influence of the Crusades. Today, therefore, for a Moslem to become a Christian is not visualized as a purely religious act; it is a political act, a secular act, affecting the man's status in society, his status before the law, his status in the body politic. Thus every conversion to Christianity is regarded as undermining the life of the community, a destruction of its cultural life and a weakening of its political influence. Religion, therefore, becomes inextricably confused with racial culture and political loyalty; and this confusion is not attributable to any present-day nationalism,

though the symptoms are much alike; it is a confusion traceable to the Crusades.

Ghosts of the Crusades persisted until A.D. 1500, almost any military or political expedition seeking to gain impulses of enthusiasm or odors of sanctity for itself by this device. From this period we pass to the centuries that lead up to our modern day.

The Period of Ottoman Power

It is not our aim to follow in any connected way the historical development of Islam. We are merely endeavoring to appraise the values of Islam's contacts with Christianity. The period of Ottoman power, which extends from about A.D. 1500 to the modern period, was marked by wars of conquest not only in its initial decades, but almost throughout. What was said of the period of conquest in an earlier section is also true of this period. War contacts do not minister to spiritual influences. Conflicts, fierce and bloody, such as those between the Turks on the one hand and the Greeks, the Serbs, the Bulgars, the French, the Hungarians, the Viennese, the Venetians and the Russians on the other hand, only helped to deepen the great gulf dug by the Crusades between Moslem and Christian and to separate more hopelessly the two faiths and their followers.

But there were also days of peace and of imperial development during which the vast Christian communities living within the Ottoman Empire might be expected to witness to the truth and the power of the Christian faith. Can their influence be evaluated? Several factors in the situation need to be reviewed.

The number of Christians under Ottoman rule was considerable. Whole areas were Christian, in name at least, when conquered, such as Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Rumania. While the Ottoman rulers and government administrators were Moslems and many of the rich within these areas forsook Christianity and became Moslems to gain political preferment and exemption from many disabilities, the great bulk of the population in these countries remained Christian. Would not their Christian lives tell in some way upon the Moslem conqueror? Then there were Christian communities that lived in the very midst of the Moslem population, as did the Greeks and Armenians in Asia Minor. In all, there were probably 23,000,000 Christians in the whole Ottoman Empire. Through sheer force of numbers their influence must have been considerable. Did it commend Christianity to the Moslem? The answer involves an appraisal of Oriental Christianity as a missionary force. But there are other factors to consider.

Most Christians in Moslem lands have lived in watertight communities, having slight contact with the Moslem. Moslem law designated the Christian as a *dhimmi*, a status allowed by Mohammed to "the people of the Book" (Christians and Jews especially) whereby they might be tolerated in a Moslem country and practise their own religion on condition that they paid a poll-tax and a further tribute, presumably because of their exemption from military service. But this tolerance of Christians carried with it invariably severe regulations marking them off as an inferior group, *e.g.*, prohibitions against riding and prescriptions as to dress to distinguish them from the ruling class. All this

accentuated their separation from the rest of the population.

Nor did their civil, social, and economic life bring Christians into touch with the Moslem. Islamic law applied to the Christian the principle which it held itself, identifying church and state, civil law and ecclesiastical law. So the Christian lived his whole life through subject to the authorities of his own religion—his patriarch, bishop and church courts. By them he was married, divorced, inherited property. Thus the tendency was for Christians to live for the most part in compact areas in a city; partly for the safety and protection afforded by numbers, but largely because life—social, economic, educational, civil—was restricted to a watertight community. Marked off and insulated after this fashion, there was little opportunity for a Moslem to become acquainted with the most favorable features of Christian life.

The ruling Moslem classes had more constant contact with Christians in government and official circles, but here, alas, the impressions were rarely favorable. The Ottoman Moslem policy in government was to get rid of responsibility in the detailed administration of the country by farming out authority, and it remained generally satisfied providing the stream of gold kept flowing steadily and swiftly enough in payments for these privileges. The actual tax collectors were generally Greeks, sometimes Jews, whose heartlessness and cruelty in extracting twice the required amounts from the Christian communities made their characters a by-word. Such Greek Christians, only too well known to the Moslem because of their official prominence,

did not help to radiate the true qualities of Christian life and faith.

On the other hand, it is unfair to belittle the heroic testimony to the Christian faith found in the loyalty and sustained allegiance to it on the part of the millions of Christians who endured for centuries disabilities, reproaches and persecution—all of which might have been avoided by the simple declaration of themselves as Moslems. Says W. S. Davis:

> Considering the great temporal advantages instantly awaiting most converts to Islam, in all ecclesiastical annals no large groups of persons were more truly confessors for their faith than the Balkan Christians all through the weary centuries of Ottoman domination. If they were not usually compelled to choose between death and Islam, their other sacrifices and humiliations were constant—with no prospect of earthly deliverance.[1]

Similar testimony could be given to the faithful endurance of Christians in Egypt, in Spain and among the Armenians. There were even times when the Christian spirit broke forth into fanatical courting of martyrdom, as in the movement of the Zealots of Cordova in an earlier period, and again in 1375 in Egypt when both men and women who had become Moslems repented in considerable numbers and sought to atone for their sin by martyrdom. What impression would such Christian loyalty and devotion make upon the Moslem mind? In some cases, it evoked admiration; but there was always that gulf of separation between Moslems

[1] From *A Short History of the Near East*, pp. 248-49. By permission of The Macmillan Co., New York, publishers.

and Christians which prevented sympathetic understanding or appreciation.

The Modern Period

We are leaving great gaps in this survey of Islam's contact with Christendom, for we are dealing only with certain major and typical periods of the history of Islam in order to appraise the distinctive influence of Christianity during each of them. The modern period remains to be dealt with. It is the period which, opening with the World War, has followed on to the present time. In a later chapter we shall see how greatly increased has been the contact of the Islamic world with Christendom or Western civilization. What impressions are conveyed to the Moslem by this contact? To gain a realistic picture, imagine yourself in one of the great cities of the Near East—in Beirut, in Cairo, in Jerusalem—and ask yourself what the average Moslem sees of Christianity.

First, the Moslem views Christianity through the foreigner. In spite of restrictions, into every part of the Moslem world the foreigner has come. It is usually a Greek first, the grogshop keeper; then someone belonging to the mixed races of Southern Europe; others still, Italians, French, English, even Americans. Dr. Mott has pointed out that it is a most unfortunate fact that where two civilizations meet, it is usually there that the most unworthy elements of both civilizations come to the front. Do you wonder that the Moslem is not attracted?

Again, the Moslem views Christianity through the movies. We look at the film story and we know it is a bit of fiction.

We are trained to recognize where it is exaggerated, highly colored, sensational. Not so the Moslem. No other knowledge of Christian ways and life are his to correct what he sees, to suggest to him that he should discount a single feature of the story on the screen. He accepts it literally. And what does he see? The free mingling of the sexes, which we can understand, he interprets as a public licensing of that which Islam allows only in the seclusion of the harem. If he has had any ideals about the white woman and the sanctity of the white man's house, those ideals are dissipated. Do you wonder that he does not accept Christianity?

Again, the Moslem views Christianity through travel. But where does he go? For one who comes to America, for ten who go to England, a thousand go to Italy and France. And where do they go in these lands? Do they get into what might be called Christian homes? Not a bit of it. From hotels they pass to cafés, from cafés to theatres or cabarets. The boulevards of Paris and Piccadilly in London and the Great White Way of New York give them their impressions of Christianity and Christian civilization. Now they know the advantages of Western civilization, but they do not see why they should become Christians. Do you?

Once again, the Moslem views Christianity through politics. His country has dealings with lands that are called Christian. The Christian West simply will not leave the Moslem East alone. What have those dealings been? The first of them were the Capitulations: these were rights which the Moslem accorded to the foreigner to enable him to trade in Moslem territory. Across years and centuries, by political manipulation, Western nations, so-called Chris-

tian nations, have made use of these Capitulations to secure for their nations immunity from taxation, and even protection, on many occasions, from prosecution for crime, while more than once they have made them the excuse for territorial occupation. These deceptions and intrigues are charged up to the Christian way of doing things politically.

Thus it is that the ordinary Moslem sees Christianity. We have not picked out exclusively the evil, nor imagined points of contacts which do not exist. We are giving just what strikes the average young Moslem in such a city as Cairo. In all of these contacts it must be admitted there is no very great inducement for a Moslem to favor Christianity. If this were all, well might we despair. But, thank God, there are things that count.

First, there is science. The Moslem world as a whole is essentially unscientific. Western science is to the Oriental an eternal miracle. He marvels at what the Western Christian world can bring forth, in medicine and in mechanics, in the auto and the phonograph, in the radio and the airplane, in the typesetting machine and the loom. He will borrow all he can, but he craves that which lies beyond imitation. He craves the power to create and invent, to draw endlessly upon the resources of nature as the Western mind seems to be able to do. Here is something good. Here the Moslem looks not with contempt but with wonder and admiration at the Western Christian world and is willing to be taught. And what a chance here to lead through nature to God!

Again, we should mention idealism. With all that seems

despicable about the Western world, the Moslem somehow gains the impression that out of the West come great ideas and great ideals. He reads of these in his newspapers. He hears them enunciated on the lips of great leaders—a Gladstone, a Wilson, a Lincoln, a Washington. Some find them in the Christian Scriptures or other Christian literature. It matters not that these ideals have not yet found realization. It matters much that such noble sentiments and conceptions should be promulgated. Here is an asset which the Moslem finds in the Christian world.

Yet again, we should name the progressiveness of Western lands in contrast with the backwardness of Moslem lands. To be sure, in some sections of the Moslem world there is smugness undisturbed. But for the most part the consciousness is there, and sometimes it is a bitter consciousness, of the backwardness of Moslem lands. Why should illiteracy be 88.3 per cent in Egypt, when in the United States it is only 4.3 per cent? [1] Why should 23 children out of every 100 die in Egypt before one year of age, when in the United States only a third of this number die? Or again, why should infant mortality be 169 among the Moslems of Palestine when it is only 69 among the Jews in the same country? Why should so many be subject to the dreadful disease of bilharziasis in the Nile Valley, when in Christian lands the disease is unknown? Why should there be only 100 miles of railroad in Iran? Why should Christian lands be teeming with libraries, hospitals, orphanages, colleges and universities, when whole continents of Moslem territory have no more than one or two of each of these, and then only because of

[1] *Statesman's Year-Book, 1935*, p. 466, as for 1930.

Western initiative? Deep as an undeniable fact and fixed as a settled conviction becomes the realization that Moslem lands are dead and need to be made alive; that Christian lands, because or in spite of their faith, are alive. Perchance from them Islam may learn the secret of a vitalizing national awakening.

As a further constructive element, and one of the most hopeful, there is in this modern period to a degree greater than ever in the past the possibility of a Moslem's having some personal acquaintance or friendship with a real Christian. We have mentioned his unfavorable impressions through the foreigner, but there are examples of real Christians, too. If what we said before covers ninety out of a hundred, let us be thankful that there are the remaining ten who may interpret Christianity more truly.

What does this rapid review of Islam's contact with Christendom teach? Here are thirteen centuries of Christianity, but how obscured by the imperfections of Christendom: truth and yet distortions of truth; great Christian conceptions mingled with irrelevancies of doctrine; martyrdoms and also low moral standards; idealism, yet too often expressing itself through wrong activities; spiritual aspiration, yet misdirected as in monasticism; allegiance to the Christian faith, but without any glow of enthusiasm for it; staunch loyalty to a Christian profession but no constraining missionary zeal. Is not the continuance of Islam understandable? Have Moslem peoples really had their chance as yet to know Christ and Christianity?

Chapter Seven

THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

THE question arises, How is it that the Moslem world has been so long without an adequate presentation to it of the Christian gospel? It is of the essence of Christianity, as was pointed out in an earlier chapter, to be missionary. But, of course, this is true only of real and vital Christianity. It is of the nature of a tree to bear leaves and flowers and fruit; yet under certain conditions the last may be absent, and sometimes all three because of an unhealthy condition. So, as we regretfully see, has it been with Christianity during much of the thirteen centuries during which it has been in touch with Moslem peoples. Early Christianity in the East, as we have noted, had neither a strong nor a healthy growth. Christianity in the West was farther removed from the Moslem problem geographically and had its own missionary tasks in Europe.

Tertullian in A.D. 208 boasted that even those parts of the British Isles that the Romans had not conquered had been given the Christian gospel. In the fifth century St. Patrick gave a third of a century to evangelizing Ireland. By the beginning of the seventh century Augustine was Metropolitan or Archbishop of Canterbury and both Rochester and London were bishops' sees. To the Goths of Eastern and Central

Europe, Christianity was carried by devout soldiers and captives, of whom Ulfilas, the apostle to the Goths, is best known. He invented for them an alphabet and gave them the word of God in their own language. Of this, Dr. George Smith says, "That was the most fertile idea in the centuries of Christian missions from Jerome's Vulgate till the Reformation." By the middle of the eleventh century the task of Christianizing Western Europe, at least nominally, was complete. Even the Austrian and Russian Slavs had been given the gospel. Thus, at the opening of the thirteenth century, all of Europe was regarded as nominally Christian. In all this, the church in the West had done well.

But can we find in the church of the West any sign of missionary zeal for Moslems? Does its preoccupation with the Christianization of Europe absolve it from obligations toward Moslem peoples? Apparently the Moslem was not a concern of the Western church; if concern existed, it was only one of fear. This dominating attitude of fear undoubtedly gave impulse to the Crusades, which would be regarded as a movement to repel the Moslem and check further conquests. Thus any spiritual interest in Moslems which might have existed in any quarter never developed into a missionary movement. It was swallowed up by a militaristic movement whose damage and evil have been surveyed in an earlier chapter.

Pre-modern Missions to Moslems

A few individuals, however, do stand forth as inspiring exceptions to this seemingly complete absence of any general spiritual missionary movement in behalf of Moslems,

and one can well believe that a certain number of obscure but devoted Christians would be associated with these dauntless spirits in believing that God's grace could save even to this uttermost—the Saracen. One such was Francis of Assisi (1182-1226). We quote from Dr. George Smith's history of Christian missions:

Son of a rich merchant, lover of pleasure, and imprisoned in his youth for a brawl, he was suddenly arrested by the spirit of God. Hearing the voice amid the loneliness of the Umbrian hills, "My temple is falling into ruins, restore it," he took poverty as his bride. He founded the Order of Seraphic Brethren, Minorites or Greyfriars, who from their number and care for the poor have been called the democracy of Christianity. He lived a life worthy of the eulogy of his biographer, the great Dante, who describes him as a splendor of cherubic light. His special merit is that, during his life at least, he changed an army of monks into missionaries, sending them all over the West, from Morocco to find martyrdom, to Oxford to become professors. For himself he reserved the evangelization of the Saracen hosts, then (1219) besieged in Damietta by a mass of crusading Franks. Although there was a price on every Christian's head, the missionary, in his mendicant's gray robe and cord of self-denial, chanting the Twenty-third Psalm, crossed over to the infidels, and was hurried into the sultan's presence, to whom he declared, "I am not sent of man, but of God, to show thee the way of salvation." His courage, which to the Oriental seemed the inspiration of madness, was his safeguard; he was dismissed with honor, and he lived to induce the Sultan Meledeen to treat the Christian captives kindly, and to give the Franciscans the guardianship of the sepulchre of Christ.[1]

[1] *Short History of Christian Missions,* by George Smith, pp. 101-2. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons.

After a short sketch of his life, Dr. Smith observes, "His method was magnificent, but it was not missionary in Christ's sense."

A century later there was born in Palma, Majorca, Raymond Lull, a young nobleman whose name rightly stands first and greatest in the line of apostles to Moslems, with a truly spiritual quality and character. The first thirty years of his life were spent "in sensuality and poetic trifling." Then came the call of Christ and with an abandon that knew no bounds, he gave himself to his Lord's service. "To thee, O Lord God, I offer myself, my wife, my children and all that I possess." Such were the terms of his self-dedicatory covenant with God. Selling all that he had and providing for his family only, he set out penniless. The full story of his life belongs elsewhere. His spirit and methods, while colored by the times in which he lived, were animated by the purest devotion and love. In an age of violence he was an apostle of love. "He who loves not lives not; he who lives by the Life cannot die." Thus he wrote; thus he spoke; thus he lived; and thus he died.

A truly spiritual missionary movement was yet in the far distance. Save for the limited labors of Francis Xavier for Moslems in China in the sixteenth century, it is a long barren stretch of six centuries and a half from Lull's death to Henry Martyn, the first missionary to Moslems in the modern missionary period. It is not that the missionary spirit was wholly absent in the church. Following the Reformation, in which the chief actors seemed to be strangely indifferent to the world outside Europe, the missionary spirit began to find expression in the various churches, often with remark-

able devotion and self-sacrifice and marked by the finest and purest spiritual quality. But these missionary efforts were all directed toward non-Moslem peoples: the pagans of Dutch Guiana, the Tamils and Hindus of India, the Confucianists of China, the Eskimos in Greenland, the Indians of South America, the blacks of Australia, the slaves in the West Indies, the Negroes of Africa, the heathen in general. But of Moslems, we find no mention. It seems almost like a veritable league of silence that the Moslems should not be mentioned. When at last they come into view, it is in connection with the labors of missionaries in India, Henry Martyn and the Serampore missionaries. We have come to about A.D. 1800. This marks the beginning of modern missions to Moslems.

Modern Missions to Moslems

The story of a century and a half of modern missions to Moslems can only be hinted at here. There are various ways of telling it.

Outstanding Personalities

It might be told in terms of personalities. There was Henry Martyn, whose spirit shines out in an oft-quoted sentence from one of his letters, "Now let me burn out for God." A man of rare linguistic gifts, senior wrangler at Cambridge, he addressed himself to the translation of the Scriptures first into Hindustani, then into Persian, and then into Arabic. Borne down by consumption, he died in 1812 absolutely alone, in Armenia, at the age of thirty-one.

There was Dr. Pfander, renowned also for his linguistic

gifts. In India, he argued freely with the *maulvies*. His great public discussion in Agra was a historic event. His works are classics to this day. Sent to Persia, he quickly mastered Tartar-Turkish, Persian and Armenian and for twelve years traveled in Persia and adjoining countries, "often cursed, stoned, and spat upon, but always witnessing faithfully to the one divine Savior." In India, in Persia and even in Turkey, his persuasive power brought numerous converts from Islam.

In Syria, what a story could be written about the translation, in 1865, of the Scriptures into an Arabic version suitable for the Near Eastern countries. Begun by Dr. Eli Smith, it was completed by Dr. C. V. A. Van Dyck. The latter was

> a remarkable man, a linguist and philologist, an astronomer, a chemist, an eminent physician, a fascinating teacher and an acceptable preacher—he was beloved and admired by Syrians of all sects and classes, and on his jubilee year testimonials were presented to him by the Syrians, one of which was a purse of two thousand dollars. He received the honorary degree of LL.D. from the University of Edinburgh. His Arabic works were about twenty-five in number, including the crown of them all—the Arabic Bible.[1]

In Arabia, there is the fascinating record of Ion Keith-Falconer, third son of the Earl of Kintore. At Cambridge he received the highest honors in the Semitic languages and was a champion cyclist. The motivation that sent him forth to work and die in bleak Arabia can be inferred from the burning appeal he made to others:

[1] *Presbyterian Foreign Missions*, by Robert E. Speer, p. 201. New York, Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, 1901.

While vast continents are shrouded in almost utter darkness, and hundreds of millions suffer the horrors of heathenism and of Islam, the burden of proof lies upon you to show that the circumstances in which God has placed you were meant by him to keep you out of the mission field.[1]

On the borders of Afghanistan lived and worked a missionary doctor, Dr. Theodore L. Pennell, whose name was one to conjure with in all northwest India and whose heroic and Christlike life is an inspiration to all who read its record.

He was an ideal missionary: spiritually, an earnest, devoted, humble servant of God, ever seeking to lead men to the Master whom he served so faithfully; intellectually, from being a gold medalist at college, becoming one of the ablest doctors in the Punjab; physically, tall, athletic and active—a man of presence and power.[2]

So one might pass from country to country and tell the story, in impressionistic fashion, of missionary effort for Moslems, by portraying lives that challenge us by their high endowments, their marvelous achievements, and above all their complete devotion. Their religious expressions and methods may at times seem remote from our own, for the world outlook has changed rapidly from decade to decade across these one hundred and fifty years. But is not the challenge to us inexorable that we shall in our day and in our way offer to our times the full equivalent of what these men gave to the world of their generation?

[1] *Ion Keith-Falconer of Arabia,* by James Robson, p. 112. New York, George H. Doran Co., 1924.
[2] "News Notes" of *The Moslem World,* 1912, p. 332.

Missionary Agencies

The story of modern missions to Moslems might also be presented in terms of great missionary societies and agencies that have entered Moslem territories in order to give to their peoples the knowledge of Christ. Such a picture is much more adequate than one painted only in the colorful tints of great missionary personalities, for, after all, the Christian missionary movement has a place and a large place for a great army of workers, performing obscure tasks with faithfulness, men and women who are dramatic neither in platform speech nor in the tasks they perform—teachers, nurses, harem visitors, doctors, editors, translators, treasurers, architects. Furthermore, a Christian missionary agency, especially one representing some great church constituency in the home land, affords to the work a guarantee of both permanency and continuity of policy. The individual, however forceful and talented a personality, "has his day and ceases to be," but the agency abides from decade to decade.

We can find today representatives of the Protestant Christian missionary movement in practically every Moslem area of the world, but long as the complete list of societies would be, we must not be misled as to the scale of missionary work for Moslems. Two important observations must be made.

First, while the operations of Christian missions in any Moslem country may loom up as large and extensive in mission reports, in relation to the total population of the country they are generally factors of influence so small, so feeble, as scarcely to arouse comment unless some wave of religious fanaticism swings them into the limelight. Schools—

what is an enrollment of two per·cent of the pupils in a country? Mission stations—what are ten stations with even a hundred outposts, when the country may have three or four thousand towns and villages? At an important missionary conference in Egypt in recent years, it was stated as a sober judgment that not more than one-tenth of the Moslem population could be regarded as remotely in touch, even in the most casual way, with Christian missionary influence. Recognizing the enormous masses of people, their watertight compartments of social and intellectual life, we do wrong in ascribing an undue penetrating and radiating power to a few mission stations and a handful of missionaries.

Second, missionary work in Moslem lands has a strange fatality for turning away from Moslems and addressing itself to non-Moslem groups. The latter are generally pagans, as in Africa; Hindus and outcastes, as in India; the Oriental churches, as in the Moslem lands of the Near East. The amount of missionary work expended actually upon Moslems is therefore often microscopic. With all due credit that may be ascribed legitimately to these missionary activities, they represent barely a respectable beginning, an exploratory effort in the great undertaking which Christian missions envisage and to which her Lord commissioned his church.

Difficulties and Limitations

Again, the story of missions to Moslems must, if truthfully presented, become a record of difficulties encountered. Missions to non-Moslems, whether to pagans or Hindus, to

Confucianists or others, nowhere reveal such sustained opposition to Christian work, such intense intolerance and such studied resistance on the part of the people approached, as in the case of Islam. Nor is that attitude surprising in view of the unfortunate experiences which were traced in Chapter Six, especially the ruthless brutality shown by Christians during the centuries of the Crusades.

In 1835, when Mr. James L. Merrick and others went to Isfahan, their lives were threatened. The governor protected them with a guard of thirty men, but the outlook seemed hopeless. Mr. Merrick wrote, "At Teheran the prospect for missionary labor was but faint starlight, here at Isfahan it is clouded midnight." Returning to Tabriz, he wrote, "I struggled hard and long to retain the hope that I might, in some sense, preach the gospel in Persia so soon as qualified for the work; but I am at length convinced that public preaching to the Persians is, at present, not only inexpedient but impracticable."

The following quotation portrays the situation in Turkey in 1864:

> On July 18, without the slightest warning the Turkish police suddenly attacked the premises of the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Bible Society, and forcibly closed them, seized the Christian books and threw some converts they found there into prison. . . . The few Christian Turks who had been openly arrested were ultimately released; but a much larger number, converts and inquirers, disappeared, until news began to come from Beirut, Kharput, and other places, of at least forty-seven of them being condemned to the galleys.

Such records could be paralleled by quotations from the early history of missions in almost every Moslem field and relate to every imaginable form of obstruction from the most petty to those involving life itself: delays or refusals of permits to build churches, miscarriage of justice in court decisions, conscription into the army, false imprisonment, repeated fines, confiscation of property, refusal of permits to print books, refusal of entry of books printed abroad, loss of wife, children and property on becoming a Christian, refusal of passports, social ostracism, industrial boycott, death itself. The bases for such opposition and persecution may be summarized as follows: (*a*) There was always the fatal legacy of hate and distrust between Moslem and Christian growing out of past centuries. (*b*) There was the identification in Moslem thinking of church and state. A convert to Christianity was a life lost to the Turkish or Persian or Egyptian state, a life escaping from allegiance to the law of the land. (*c*) The *shariat*, or religious law, absolutely and specifically forbade the renunciation of the Islamic faith save under penalty of death. Religious loyalty required enforcement of this penalty. (*d*) International intrigues were rife; spies were everywhere; the missionary was often suspected of being the agent of a foreign power. (*e*) The missionary and his religion were foreign; racial hatred fed the fires of opposition. (*f*) Ignorance, total and complete, as to the missionary's purpose and plan made every misrepresentation believable. (*g*) All this was true from fifty to a hundred years ago because intolerance was the spirit of the times. The new day of contact with Western ideas had not yet dawned.

Methods of Approach

The most valuable and practical presentation of the story of modern missions to Moslems, at least for our purposes, will be to review the methods Christianity has used in approaching Moslems. History for its own sake is not our objective. Our eyes are on the future, and it is from a survey of the various methods used in the past that wisdom may be gained for a future policy.

1. *The printed page.* Islam is essentially a religion of a book. The place of supreme authority is given to the Koran. Someone has described the conflict of Christianity with Islam as "a battle of books," the Koran versus the Bible, but this is to misrepresent the Christian side of the conflict. In Christianity, high as is the place of the Bible, it is Christ who is the final authority. "Ye have heard . . . but I say unto you." In Islam it is indeed the Koran. Out of this veneration for the Koran there grows a general attitude of veneration or at least respect for the printed page.

The advantages of the printed page from the point of view of wide distribution and penetration are obvious. To be sure, illiteracy may reduce the effectiveness of the approach; fanatic censorship may cut off main supplies; printer's ink may lack the warmth of the human messenger. But in spite of it all, a judgment expressed years ago in a telegraphic greeting to the American Christian Literature Society for Moslems represents an abiding conviction about this method of approach to the Moslem: "No agency can penetrate Islam so deeply, abide so persistently, witness so daringly and influence so irresistibly, as the printed page."

The translation and printing of the Bible was the most important task of the Christian missionary movement. The question was raised in an earlier chapter whether Islam would ever have come into being if there had been an Arabic version of the Bible in circulation in Arabia before Mohammed's time. The first recorded translation of any portion of the Bible into Arabic was in A.D. 1591, when the four Gospels were printed at the Medici Press, Rome. In 1645, the first complete translation of the Bible was brought out in Arabic in Paris in connection with the Paris Polyglot Bible in seven languages. But the modern missionary movement required a more modern version in a type of Arabic classical enough to be respected, but not too erudite in style. This need of 50,000,000 Arabic-speaking Moslems was only tardily met in 1865 by the Van Dyck translation issued by the American Press at Beirut. But Arabic is only one of at least thirty languages spoken by Moslems throughout the world. What a story of magnificent service is the production of the Bible, in full or in part, in every one of these languages. Unstinted credit for this service belongs to such agencies as the British and Foreign Bible Society, the American Bible Society, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and many subsidiary agencies.

Once the Bible was available, attention turned to that immense and diversified need for Christian literature of every sort: lives of Jesus, sermons, theologies, manuals of Christian doctrine, refutations of Moslem objections, expositions of fallacies in Islam, devotional literature, biographies—the types seem endless and still there is need. From every field comes the cry for Christian literature, new, different, and

timely, cheap, attractively bound, and well illustrated, and in popular language—is it not asking the impossible?

But more is involved than mere printing or distribution. There is need for some great central agency which may command the best minds of all missions and churches, native and foreign, for periods long or short, to write creatively along the lines of present-day demands in these Moslem arenas whose intellectual renaissance makes the old type of literature out of date. Such a center has been established and, under the leadership of a woman of rare literary gifts and of resourceful mind, Miss Constance E. Padwick, has achieved results once thought impossible. It is called the Central Literature Committee for Moslems and is affiliated with the Near East Christian Council. Were its resources of funds and personnel multiplied by ten, it would barely suffice to produce the basic equipment of Christian literature for which missions to Moslems in all lands are clamoring and which, singly and alone, no one of them has the talent or the resources to produce.

So vital does past experience reveal the supply of Christian literature to be in the Christian approach to Moslem peoples that we may safely assign to the printed page the place of primacy among missionary methods. Furthermore, we may affirm that when, at the very last, whether it be in victory or in defeat, the Christian church demobilizes its spiritual agencies for giving Christ to the world, the last agency to be dispensed with will be the one which provides Christian literature for the Moslem, because that agency is as necessary at the very end as at the beginning of the missionary enterprise.

2. *Public preaching.* In spite of the widespread impression that public preaching has not been possible in Moslem communities, it is surprising to find to what extent it has been done. Recall, for example, the opinion expressed in 1835 by Mr. Merrick, quoted in a previous section; then put alongside of it the following missionary record of 1900:

> It is no wonder that the missionaries were amazed and overjoyed at the doors that were opening before them. Mr. Esselstyn in 1900 had gone to Qum, one of the chief shrine cities of Persia, and had freely preached the gospel to large groups of Moslems as he met them in the bazaar and out in the fields, and had had friendly conversations with a number of the leading clergy. In the same year he had gone, in company with other missionaries, to the city of Semnan on the Meshed road. There also he found abundant opportunity for preaching, and one day, on invitation of the chief *mujtahid* (priest), he preached from the pulpit of the city mosque.

One can scarcely believe such an amazing record: a Christian missionary speaking from a mosque pulpit!

Almost the equivalent is found in Delhi, India, as we read in a letter from Bishop Thomas V. French dated January 7, 1891, of

> the renewal on a much larger scale of my meetings with the Mohammedans, which is just at present an immense interest to me. . . . They commenced just over a chance discussion, as we call it, in the bazaar one night. A point arose which we could not finish, and they said they would like to go on with it; so I said, "Why don't you ask me to a mosque? I will come anywhere." So they did, to the large mosque in which the last few of my previous conversations had been. . . . I got to the mosque . . . and instead of the

twenty or thirty men I had been accustomed to meet previously, I found two hundred or three hundred. . . . We were at it for four hours.

Such friendly relations are admittedly extremely unusual and they generally exist only where irritation or fear has not yet developed through Moslems' becoming Christians. Furthermore, they presuppose in the Christian missionary unusual qualities of lovableness, tact, courtesy and fairness.

The success of public preaching to Moslems has been limited by certain shortcomings inherent in this method of approach. In regions visited for the first time, audiences are easily commanded, because of curiosity and the sense of novelty. A gifted and passionate preacher will always gain fame and draw hearers; but few there are with outstanding platform gifts, especially foreigners using a foreign language. The tendency is to connect public preaching with some other form of service which may command an audience, such as medical work, regular congregational meetings, village markets, social gatherings. While large public meetings impress a community as a whole, they are subject to all the uncertainties of mass psychology and fanatic outbreaks; above all, they minimize those personal relationships with individuals without which no abiding values are secured. Public preaching has all the advantages of a dramatic presentation, but because of its impersonal character, it must be introductory to some other and more intimate approach.

3. *The harem worker.* This method finds its *raison d'être* in the seclusion of the Moslem woman. If she may not come to public meetings, the gospel must be carried to her

in her harem. This method resolves itself into a form of personal work. While in new territory it is mere curious interest on the part of the imprisoned Moslem woman that extends to the missionary visitor a hearty welcome, as time passes more abiding and worthy considerations keep the door open: a real personal friendship is built up; or the visit of the missionary offers an opportunity to learn how to read; or the visitor is the teacher in the school to which the children go.

The work done through this personal visitation is invaluable from many angles. It is consolatory. This value is often overlooked. So long as evil conditions continue and until "new heavens and a new earth" are ushered into any land by the power of Christianity to transform life, there are hearts to be comforted, lives to be encouraged and made strong for endurance and cross-bearing. The missionary's visit to the harem is an errand of mercy, fully as much as an errand of social reformation. There is no world where her ministrations are more needed than in the lives of Oriental women, too often the ignorant, secluded, loveless victims of an over-sensualized society. Such harem workers are "windows toward the sunrising." They frequently start the family on the upgrade by getting the children to school, so that while the older generation is comforted and made brave for life as it is, the younger generation is ushered into new ideals and attainments.

4. *The doctor.* In no section of the missionary world does the doctor represent such high values as among Moslem peoples. There is no solvent of Moslem prejudice, ignorance, fanaticism and distrust more potent than medical

missionary work. What the ice-breaker is on the frozen northern lakes in opening up a way for passenger and freight boats, such is the doctor in a Moslem community hardened by suspicion, intolerance and misrepresentation, in opening up a way for every other form of Christian service. He usually appears in the earliest stages of missionary work, because most needed then. Out of hundreds of possible illustrations, we may take the case of Dr. Asahel Grant of Persia. Arriving in Urumia in 1835, he won a great reputation in successful cataract operations. He was "a man of commanding presence, of great personal courage and an indefatigable traveler. He averaged about forty-five patients a dispensary day. . . . During his first fourteen months on the field he treated sixteen hundred patients." He built the first American hospital in Persia.

Sixty-three years after Dr. Grant's arrival in the field, Dr. Speer expressed the judgment, "The medical work is the only department of our enterprise that has as yet gained any extensive influence over Moslems." And yet it was shortly after this that doors opened wide in Persia and a missionary harvest began.

5. *The school.* In Moslem mission fields as a whole, it is the educational method that has been used most extensively. Its activities have engaged the largest proportion of the personnel and the largest proportion of funds. The reason is not hard to find. It was a method of approach to the Moslem that offered the greatest advantages.

First and foremost, it gave the missionary a normal and legitimate place in the community. Schools are recognized as a legitimate factor in any well ordered society. There is

nothing abnormal, superfluous, or unnatural about a school. Its relationships to a community are neither strange nor artificial. And all Moslem communities need schools.

Furthermore, the school touches life at its most plastic stage. Indeed, here is where nationalism is challenging the foreign school. Nationalism says, "Life is too plastic at the school age for us to trust any foreigner, whatever his good intentions, with the task of laying impressions upon the rising generation in that period." But of this, more later.

Yet again, the school permits the presentation of a well rounded gospel. How difficult to make clear in a mere speech or statement what we mean by Christ or Christianity. Speech and statement belong to the purely intellectual phase of life; they emphasize beliefs and doctrines, whereas Christianity is life—life in its million variegated forms. The school has the daytime and the nighttime, the classroom and the dormitory, the playground and the social hour, every situation and every human mood, at its disposal for visualizing Christianity. No wonder it is a highly prized method of work.

Finally, the educational method is supremely penetrating in its influence. It directs upon life the influences of new ideas, and what is more dynamic than an idea? It also molds character by the discipline of ordered habits; the customs and ways of a school play upon life in its unconscious moments, even as new ideas do in life's more conscious periods. Is there any influence to compare with that exerted by placing young Moslem life alongside of the best, the cleanest, the most manly, the most vigorous and the keenest Christian life that can be produced by Western Christianity

and to let that influence be exerted, consciously and unconsciously, in classroom and on playground, not for some casual hour of a public meeting, but day after day, and week after week, perhaps even year after year, until the educational course is completed?

Of course not all missionary educational work fulfills these ideal conditions. Far too often, the leaven of Christian influence is microscopically small for the great lump of school life to be leavened. In general, girls' schools have yielded much higher values than boys' schools, for no other reason than that the former have been staffed with women missionaries and the boys' schools have been committed far too often to a supervision that was either feeble or even non-Christian. In appreciating the Christian mission school, it is important to remember that it is not merely its religious classes that justify its existence; it is the fact that in the whole round of school life, in astronomy as in history, in geology as in philosophy, in the study of the atom as well as in the study of man, it imparts the theistic conception of the universe and the Christian interpretation of life.

Nor is the value of the educational method to be measured alone by its influence upon the individual in school. To hundreds of Moslem communities and to entire nations, such as Turkey and Iran, Egypt and Arabia, the mission school has helped to impart the vision of education and has provided the stimulus, sometimes even the actual models, for setting up national systems of education. This method of Christian service to Moslems has run the whole educational gamut from the teaching of a primitive people to read, so uniquely developed by Frank Laubach among

the Moslem Moros of the Philippines, to those colleges and universities established in the Near East in the name of Christendom to serve the higher levels of intellectual life.

6. *Social service.* Under this heading come two types of missionary work: activities which aim chiefly at the transformation of the social life of the country, as against work merely for individuals; and relief and welfare work.

It is the judgment of many that social conditions in Moslem lands call for specialized effort with a view to changing these conditions. To be sure, in all work with and for individuals, there may be a social objective, *i.e.*, the hope that the individual, himself regenerated, will help transform society. But in addition to this, many have felt that Christian missions should thunder against social wrongs, promote welfare movements, and cooperate in removing intolerable conditions.

As an example of a Christian agency that is influencing the social life of a country let us cite the Division of Extension of the American University at Cairo. Public opinion is recognized as the greatest tyrant in the life of Egypt. Why is it that ninety-three per cent of the population have suffered from trachoma? Public opinion thinks it unlucky to wash a baby before it is forty days old; during that period the trachoma sets in. No hospitals can cope with the situation. Mr. Public must be educated until he becomes eye-conscious. So a hall was built seating 1,150, into which, again and again, the public is invited to come and hear addresses, and see a save-the-eyes film which portrays conditions in Egypt. Public schools are persuaded to engage in a poster contest in connection with their drawing and art

departments. The newspapers are enlisted in the campaign. Thus, perchance, Egypt may finally cease to be the country with the worst record, save one, for blindness in the world, and eyes as beautiful as any in the world will avoid impairment and will be spared the supreme affliction of blindness. In similar fashion, this missionary agency addresses itself to other national evils that stalk up and down the land unrebuked—syphilis and vice, licensed prostitution, narcotics and intemperance, neglected children, injustices to woman, religious intolerance—while at the same time it deals constructively with the education of the public on such topics as democracy, freedom of thought, nationalism, internationalism. The Christian ideal for each of these is presented, even if it be without ever ringing the changes upon the Christian label.

Of the other type of social service—relief and welfare work—the annals of missions are full.

7. *Work for Oriental churches.* In the midst of the Moslem peoples of Turkey, Iran, Syria, Iraq, Palestine and Egypt are Oriental Christian churches whose low spiritual condition has been a subject of comment in an earlier chapter. Not merely for their own sakes, but in the hope of their becoming missionary forces for carrying Christ to the Moslem, the early missionaries to these and other lands started missionary work among them. These churches were the Armenian, Nestorian, Greek, Syrian and Coptic. The avowed policy cannot be set forth more clearly than in this statement by Dr. James L. Barton:

The aim of missions to the Oriental churches was not to organize a separate church but to give them the Word of

God in their own spoken tongue, help them to understand its teachings, and then to cooperate with them in organizing and carrying out such measures of reform as might seem wise and practicable to their own leaders. In carrying out this plan no separate meetings were begun. The only distinct religious services carried on in Constantinople by the missionaries in all these years of beginnings were private worship in English for themselves, their children and other English-speaking people in the city who chose to join them. Apart from this, their time was given to personal conversation with individuals, dwelling largely upon the interpretation of the Scriptures. Men who felt they must separate from the old church were persuaded to remain within the church and to work there for gradual reforms. The purposes and plans were talked over freely with the patriarch, with the priests, bishops and leaders of the church, and met with their hearty approval. The missionaries attended the services of the old church upon the Sabbath and on special occasions at other times, and frequently took part, as they were invited so to do.[1]

It was only after almost twenty years that independent Protestant churches were organized in Turkey to serve the religious needs of a considerable body of members of the Armenian church, who had been excommunicated and anathematized by the patriarch for no other reason than that they were readers of the Bible and followers of its teachings. Similar experiences of disappointment attended the policy of the Church Missionary Society in assisting the Coptic church in Egypt, over a period of thirty years, and the policy pursued by the Presbyterians over a period of

[1] *Daybreak in Turkey*, by James L. Barton, pp. 158-59. Boston, Pilgrim Press, 1908.

some thirty-five years with the Nestorian church in Persia.

The lessons learned are threefold: first, that efforts to revitalize the ancient Oriental churches are a Christian duty, since their faithfulness in Christian witness across centuries entitles them now to the help of the churches in the West; second, that missionary effort for Moslems cannot possibly be made to wait upon reformation within these ancient churches; such a process is too slow and feeble; direct missions to Moslems are imperative; third, that when these ancient churches persecute or excommunicate their evangelical members, there is no avoiding the necessity of finding for them a church home in which they may enjoy religious liberty and Christian nurture, even if this requires a separate "Protestant" church organization.

8. *The church.* In all missionary work the ultimate goal has been the establishment of a self-supporting, self-directing and self-propagating Christian church. Has this goal been achieved in respect to missionary work among Moslems? Yes, in respect to individual congregations in two mission fields. In Iran, the Church Missionary Society organized a church in Isfahan in 1910, largely composed of Moslem converts, and on Christmas Day, at Meshed, in 1920, in connection with the work of the American Presbyterians, a group of fourteen men were baptized and the first church composed entirely of Moslems came into being. Then, too, in the distant Dutch island of Java, congregations can be found with a total membership of 60,000, all of whom are of Islamic origin. Apart from these, one can point only to Moslem converts, in small numbers, who are members of churches drawn for the greater part from the

old Oriental churches or from other non-Moslem religions. This brings us face to face with a fact to stagger Christian faith unless it be stalwart: the fewness of Moslem converts.

Where Islam is just a veneer, as with many Moslemized pagan races, it is not difficult to win Moslem converts by the hundreds and even thousands. Java and pagan Africa are appropriate illustrations. But where Islam is bulwarked by the state, where the Moslem is indoctrinated in his faith, where he has been made conscious of his inheritance of thirteen centuries of Arab history and culture, and especially where his language is the language of the sacred book, Arabic, there the resistance has been so constant and the organized opposition so great, that every hopeful development of interest in Christianity has been nipped in the bud. Thus for the vast area of North Africa, with its 40,000,000 Moslems, Dr. Zwemer declared a few years ago that the number of living converts today would not equal the number of Christian missionaries sent to these lands.

But your Christian missionary among Moslems protests against this way of measuring missionary success—by baptisms, converts, open professions. Have transformed lives no value? Is the changed life and outlook of the Moslem without significance? Is the missionary's part in the ushering in of a new day in Turkey, in Iran, in Egypt, without value? Are higher morals, revolutionary attitudes, changed characters of no interest to Christ? Does reality count for nothing and are church labels the only test?

Deeper yet goes the feeling that missionary policy is at fault in urging instant and early connection with what is looked upon as a foreigner's church organization. Such a

procedure lifts the convert out of his setting, breaks off all his normal relationships with his social world, robs him of a means of livelihood, and creates in the community a spirit of bitterness that puts a stop to further missionary effort, even to further contact with Moslems. The alternative suggested is not a policy of cowardice. It is to have the seeker after truth declare openly his interest in Christ and his allegiance to him, and take up his cross daily; but to do this in his normal Islamic environment and by his life there show forth the true character of newness of life in Christ.

Several important points need to be kept in view. One is that we must beware of generalizing. Some Moslem fields, especially those outside the Near East area, present no difficulty in respect to open confession and the organization of churches. Again, in many difficult fields it may be only a question of time when difficulties will pass. Secularism today is eating away religious fanaticism as an acid eats metal. The real issue is how the convert may best give expression to his new faith, so that its spiritual and moral character may not be obscured in the minds of Moslems who for centuries have associated membership in a Christian church with all sorts of worldly and political considerations.

Looking back over the past one hundred and fifty years of modern missions, what are our general impressions?

1. It is indeed a century and a half of marvelous achievement, whether measured by territory covered, work done, or generous expenditure of life and money.

2. It brought into action personalities of rare devotion,

of the highest intellectual endowments, and of indomitable will and courage, whose lives and records of service are of inexhaustible inspiration.

3. The movement, on the whole, has kept true to its spiritual and ethical character, although its association with imperialistic countries and identification with conquering races has been a stumbling-block to the Moslem.

4. In comparison with the total volume of the church's missionary effort during this period, missions to Moslems represent in reality a very small proportion of the whole. In the face of the vast and solidified Moslem world, their numbers are so insignificant that in most Moslem countries a large part of the population is not even aware of their very existence and presence.

5. The work of the past is therefore to be regarded as merely preparatory and exploratory. It has acquainted us with Moslem attitudes of mind, Moslem strong points and weak points, the Moslem's pet aversions and his most hallowed ambitions, his century-long misunderstandings and his present-day conceptions. It has also placed at our disposal a rich supply of useful instruments for a spiritual service: the Bible in Arabic, an invaluable body of Christian literature, and methods of approach whose values and limitations have been appraised in the laboratory of experience.

6. It has brought into clearer light the true nature of the missionary task, its spiritual character and yet its required application to all phases of practical life.

The past belongs to our fathers and forefathers. The present and the future of missions to Moslems lie with us. What dare we propose?

Chapter Eight

THE FUTURE

SO far we have been dealing in the main with facts, historical facts. In this last chapter, our task is to arrive, if possible, at definite and practical conclusions. Inconclusive thinking is the danger of all reading and study. Can we escape this danger by formulating definite answers to the questions that now emerge? What of the future of this Moslem world? What can Christianity do to serve it? Answers can be given only in the briefest and most summary way.

1. *There must be a clearer recognition of our resources in God.* We do well to remind ourselves that Christianity itself is something received from God; we have nothing to give that was not given to us by God. Of course, in a sense this is true of all religion. The very aspiration of man after God is God-given. But Christianity is more than that: it is God breaking into human life in Christ, with a fullness and a completeness and a perfection of quality and an unexpectedness and a significance that have no parallel elsewhere. And as Christ was a supernatural life invading the world at a definite point in history, so every phase of the progress of Christianity in the world—any individual conversion, any moral reform, the break-up of an old order—

is essentially God at work in his extended process of world redemption. We do well to remind ourselves of this again and again, for we are prone to forget it in our over-consciousness of the human processes that result from this divine activity. And if this be true, our resources are inexhaustible.

It is important to keep alive this consciousness of a living God at work in the world, for without it missions must die. It were folly to attempt to pursue them without it. Here are the unshakable foundations of peace in the face of failure or long-delayed results. It is God's enterprise. He must bring it to a successful consummation; we are but instruments in his hand. Here are the hidden reserves of patience, when every achievement seems but to bring into view, like a captured hilltop, the great stretches of territory that must still be occupied and held by divine love. Here, too, are the mainsprings of courage when both the extent and the difficulties of the task appal. He who created life can re-create it in the image of his own purity and love. Here, finally, are the great deeps of endless expectation and hope. The changes of the last fifty years seem like veritable miracles to those who know the past. What may we not see yet, before this generation passes away, if God be in the field?

2. *There is required a more generous recognition and use of our resources in man.* Out of the past century and a half of missions to Moslems has come the fruitage of that work both in converts and in Moslems largely transformed by Christian teachings and influence; there are also evangelical Christians drawn from ancient Oriental churches,

who, while racially different from the Moslems of the land, are nationals of the same country. These all constitute a force to be used in every sort of Christian activity. It is interesting to discover that over a half century ago an enlightened Moslem served on the committee for the translation of the Christian Scriptures into Arabic. In the past, however, fear, misgivings and oversevere requirements restricted a generous use of such man power. We have been found guilty of leaving much work undone through fear of not having it perfectly done.

To man power on the foreign field should be added the generous recognition and use of life at the home base. Bishop E. S. Woods has said:

> It is amazing what men will dare and suffer if they think the cause that summons them is a good one, and if it demands their all. How often the Christian army has failed to attract recruits because it has promised rewards and not hardships! The young men and women of our day, I strongly believe, are no less ready than the youth of all the ages to respond gaily to an exacting challenge; and it may well be that the reason for their rallying in numbers to the support of some modern tyrannies and autocracies is because they want strong leadership and like to be told to do hard things.[1]

3. *There must be a more adequate appraisal of the difficulties.* This is important in any enterprise. Failure to measure difficulties leads invariably to discouragement, defeat, bankruptcy. Our survey has brought into view many

[1] From *What Is This Christianity?*, p. 99. By permission of Harper & Brothers, New York.

of the difficulties involved in making Christ known to the Moslem peoples: the vast territory to be covered, physical inaccessibility by modern transportation, the barrage of language differences, the great divide of differing cultures, unthinkably different viewpoints and mentalities, the legacy of hate from the Crusades, the reproach of unchristian "Christians," sheer inertia, emotional complexes, and so on to the end; and seemingly there is no end. It must be admitted that in the whole round of missionary tasks, there is none that can touch the hem of the garment of missions to Moslems for difficulty. This is no reason for dodging duty, for rationalizing about divine providential guidance in running away from a hard and exacting service to easier fields. The highway of the King requires that this mountain of granite shall be tunneled through. A price of life, of money, of time, of creative thinking, of measureless love needs to be paid, if the difficulties are to be overcome. It is going to take more of the spirit of Christ to win the Moslem world than is required for any other sector of the missionary enterprise. The cost ought to be reckoned with and faced.

4. *There is needed a clearer definition of the task.* What is it we are proposing to do? "To make Christ known to the Moslem," is the quick reply. Yet the slightest missionary experience will demonstrate how unclear is this definition. Do we mean acquainting the Moslem with the historical Jesus? Of course we mean that, but is that all we mean? Do we mean to leave out the long story of nineteen centuries in which this same Jesus continued "both to do and to teach" about human society; about the position to

be accorded to women and the consideration to be given to children; about slavery; about freedom of conscience; about the worth of the individual; about the state and its legislation for protecting the oppressed. When we include all that, is that all we mean by making Christ known? "No," says the Christian mystic, "the supreme knowledge is not historical at all; it is spiritual. The Moslem must be brought to know Jesus as a living Lord, with whom he may converse and whom he will follow day by day." Add then this experience also. Is our task now finished? Perchance it is, providing by this time the Moslem has established for himself such permanent relationships with Christ that he is drawing upon him day by day, as the travelers in a caravan draw refreshing water from a desert well, for strength and guidance and peace and the whole round of human need.

There is another way of representing our Christian missionary task. It has the merit of describing more clearly how we conceive of this thing, Christianity, which we are proposing to share with the Moslem.

Following somewhat the suggestive outline of the Bishop of Croydon in his book, *What Is This Christianity?* we can say that Christianity is an event, an experience, a fellowship, an adventure and a victory. As such we seek to impart Christianity to the Moslem.

Christianity is an event, an historical event. The actual facts about Jesus are not in the Moslem's possession, and never have been. To read what the Koran teaches about Jesus is to see that the essential facts of his life are missing, those facts upon which rests the deepest significance of

Jesus. Thus the first task is to furnish to the Moslem the historical facts.

Christianity is also an experience. How hungry the human heart is everywhere to have an experience of God! And the Moslem heart is no exception. Witness the shrines and pilgrimages, the faithful observances of prayer and fasting. It may be asserted that the average Moslem gives far more time, at least, to his religion than does the average Christian to his. It is not at the point of devotion that any fault is to be found with the Moslem worshiper, especially the Moslem mystic. One of these is represented as crying out, "Very love to the All-Merciful has intoxicated me; hast thou any lover who was not drunken with love?" The mystic Rabia voices her longing thus, "O my Lord, the stars are shining and the eyes of men are closed, and the kings have shut their doors, and every lover is alone with his beloved, and here am I alone with thee." What is wrong with these mystic experiences and with Moslem religious experience generally? It is that they are for the most part purely sensuous (we do not say sensual) and unmoral (we do not mean immoral). They do not make for higher morality, nor for more unselfish living. Christianity has a deeper and a more spiritual and a more wholesome and also a more commonly accessible experience of God to give than Islam possessess.

Christianity is also a fellowship. Reference has already been made to that valuable feature of Islam, the Moslem fraternity. It is not organized; it does not even have a technical name; but it functions and is a reality—Islamic brotherhood. Christianity claims to have this same thing,

but on a higher level—the Christian fellowship. Studdert Kennedy once said that "the acid test of religious reality is power to produce community life." Christianity has been accused sometimes of being an individualistic religion. But this is to misjudge it. Dr. Edwyn Bevan says in his *Christianity* that "it can hardly be doubted that the attraction of Christianity from the very beginning was social. . . . Each little group was a center of attraction which drew men in the surrounding world." That is what Christianity at its best has to give to the Moslem as a substitute for his Islamic brotherhood.

Christian fellowship is essential to Christian life and the missionary who does not provide for it somehow is sending forth his young convert, or seeker after truth, to spiritual starvation. Some have thought that where baptism and connection with the organized Christian church constitute an almost hopeless stumbling-block and offense to the Moslem community, it would be wise to organize less formal Christian fellowship groups for a time upon the model of the Moslem Sufi (mystical) orders, or upon the model of the Oxford Group Movement, or again upon the model of the early Christians who remained within the Jewish camp but were disciples of the "Jesus way" of being a Jew. If Moslem means "a surrendered man," and Islam means "the submitted or surrendered life," then the name at least involves no inconsistency with Christianity, and the proposed group would, until cast out by the Moslems themselves, be "Moslems of the Jesus way." In the great majority of the Moslem mission fields, however, especially in those that are semi-Moslem or far removed from the centers where Islam

is strongly entrenched, the church may and should constitute the organization within which Christian fellowship can be best practised. Whatever the outward form, the fact remains that Christianity must give to the Moslem some adequate Christian fellowship, richer, higher, broader and lovelier than Islamic brotherhood is or can ever be.

Christianity is also an adventure. There are those, alas, even in the West who would make of Christianity a religion like unto Islam, a closed revelation of truth, a forever fixed moral code, a predetermined and unchangeable organization. But that is not its true genius. From the living springs which have their source in Christ, Christianity flows down the centuries and out into the world, revealing endlessly new truth, lifting the conscience of the world to new heights of morality, and adapting its agencies of service at every turn to the needs of men. This spirit of adventure is a supreme contribution which Christianity has to offer Islam, so bound by tradition, so paralyzed by standards of the past, so greatly the victim of convention and definitions.

Christianity is also a victory. If it were only an idea, a truth, a philosophy, even so it would have value. But it is more. It is definitely a channel of power and it is this divine power that brings victory. However, it is only as the lives of Christians illustrate to the Moslem this truth that the Moslem can and will see what is meant, will believe for himself, and will enter into this victorious experience.

The foregoing paragraphs have defined the Christian task with considerable amplitude. Just for this reason it is important to emphasize the need of breaking up so broad and

comprehensive an objective into stages of realization and accomplishment, so that at the start Christianity may appear to be a simple thing. We do well at this point to take a lesson from Islam itself, millions of whose adherents get no further than to accept and repeat the two simple declarations of the creed, "There is no god but Allah, and Mohammed is the prophet of Allah." That suffices to set them on the way; it lays a simple foundation for all further instruction; it has the supreme value of winning an allegiance and giving the disciple a sense of "belonging." What that simpler Christian faith should include might be debated at length, but probably all will agree that its most concise form should preserve Islam's consciousness of a living God, though clothed with holiness and love, and bear witness to Jesus as the perfect revelation and agent of his holiness and love.

5. *There is also needed a more adequate expression of the unselfish character of Christian missions.* To many this statement may come with surprise, for they have always thought of the missionary enterprise as the purest altruism. But we have to reckon, not with the way the movement appears to us, but with the way it appears to the Moslem. Frankly, he looks upon all missionary effort with suspicion and hostility. It matters not that his suspicion is unfair or baseless. We must understand his viewpoint, for it conditions all missionary effort and only by overwhelming proofs of utter Christian disinterestedness is the Moslem's attitude to be changed.

Because Islam is a totalitarian religion, because in it state and church are united, the Moslem looks upon religious de-

fection as the equivalent of a soldier going over to the enemy in time of war. Again and again, we find no marked hostility shown to Christian views and convictions, providing the individual does not leave the Moslem camp, does not identify himself formally with that rival foreign organization, the church. It is this one act that lifts the individual out of the Moslem community, dissolves the individual's family and communal relationships and gives him a new legal status.

Is any price too great to pay for the establishment of confidence in the integrity and disinterestedness of the missionary? Dr. H. V. White, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, intimately acquainted with conditions in Turkey, has urged that the situation requires, for the present at least, the giving up of the baptism of converts with their consequent separation from the Moslem community.

Others, again, think that the maintenance of social and welfare work and an even increased emphasis upon such services will avail to prove the utterly selfless love of the Christian missionary and the religion he brings. Just now, the nationalistic awakenings in Moslem lands afford a unique opportunity for all kinds of new services that will help these nations to find themselves. Such services, if thoroughly identified with nationalistic aspirations, will not only give expression to Christianity's unselfish character, but will also afford a priceless opportunity for injecting the Christian spirit of love and fairness into new movements and into legislation having to do with the nation's enlarging life.

The main point is that love must find some way to over-

come suspicion and hostility. There has been too much ill will across the centuries between the Christian camp and the Moslem camp. There has been suspicion and hatred. This cannot be the last word. The last word must be love. You ask, How much love? Let me answer with a parable. Just on the edge of Cairo is a country club, on a beautiful island in the Nile. One can there watch polo games played on beautiful turf. What is the price of grass in a country as hot and dry as Egypt? Is it a little sprinkling of water now and again? Not at all, that would never do. The entire field is banked up all around; then the field is flooded, almost a foot deep, and the water is allowed to stand there all night until the ground is thoroughly soaked. That is the price of grass in a hot and dry climate. It is a parable of what we Christians must do in the Moslem world. We have tried the sprinkling processes. Here and there has been a little manifestation of love and sympathy. But it is not enough. There must be the drenching of the Moslem world with Christian love and sympathy. Only so can we achieve the results we desire and the progress we want.

> . . . Love has an art
> In every land his way to find,
> Nor alien speech avails to part
> Where love interprets heart to heart.

6. There is needed a greater display of strategy in the Christian approach to the Moslem world. We believe in the providential guidance of missions and churches, even beyond their own awareness of God's leading. Yet it is the will of God that those who serve him shall move, not

blindly, but with enlightened minds and sanctified judgments in accomplishing his will. More of conscious strategy is needed for the future, though the price to be paid for it may be high.

There is needed strategy in the geographical location of missionary stations for work for Moslems. Dr. John R. Mott once remarked that if ten great cities of the non-Christian world, which he then named, could be occupied in strength by Christian forces, he would feel reassured as to the ultimate advance of Christianity throughout the world.

Likewise, for the Moslem world, ten such strategic points might be named. Among them certainly would be Cairo, the brain center of the Moslem world, where, because of the great Mohammedan university there, tides of thought run which influence the whole Moslem world. Mecca, the center of world pilgrimage for Islam, would be a strategic center but it is wholly inaccessible. Yet the approaches to it might prove accessible, not for a defiant heralding of Christianity which would only embitter, misrepresent and repel, but for ministries of love, silent perhaps, but serving better than any speech in setting forth the real significance and spirit of the gospel. Istanbul would doubtless be reckoned always a strategic center. Formerly the place where the political leadership of Islam converged, it is now vital to the Christian missionary movement as a center for demonstrating how Christianity may function effectively as a purely spiritual and individual movement when forbidden by nationalism from working in the usual organizational ways of school, church, club or hospital. The whole

missionary movement to Moslems may yet find its new birth in that demonstration, if it succeeds.

Iran will also claim one of the strategic centers, for here the Christian gospel's appeal to the Shiite Moslem's mind and heart must be worked out. There are reasons for thinking that in this less fanatic, more mystical, somewhat pantheistic, more philosophic and less dogmatic sector of Islam, Christ may be able most speedily, as well as most richly, to reveal himself to Moslem men and women. India, too, with its Moslem reform movements, will claim one or more of these strategic centers, while Malaysia has already vindicated its claim to be thus remembered in view of the unparalleled appeal of the gospel to so many thousands of its paganized Moslems. So one might go on. Christian strategy may find new centers whose values for work among Moslems are only now emerging in a changing world.

Then there is a divinely sanctified strategy in respect to missionary methods to be used. The values of these were studied in an earlier chapter. One point alone deserves emphasis. It is the factor of timeliness. How important to use the right method in the first approach and how important to pass to other methods as conditions change!

Most important of all is strategy in respect to personnel: first, in securing men and women properly qualified, and, second, in placing and using them. Missionaries working in the Moslem world cannot claim any marked superiority in devotion or ability over their fellows in other fields, but they can claim, with all modesty, to be fully equal both to them and to the upper average of the Christian ministry at

home. The problem lies not in the quality of the average missionary, it concerns the need for men of outstanding ability and men of specialized gifts for special positions and services.

Cairo, for illustration, is a city of over 1,250,000, the capital of the country, the intellectual center of Islam, a seething caldron of modernism and traditionalism, Westernism and Orientalism, culture and commerce, nationalism and Islamism. Why not recognize, therefore, that Christianity will require at such a center as Cairo, and others like it, men quite above the average, who may, on a common level of education, ability and personal force, meet and speak with the Moslem intelligentsia of such centers?

In addition to such representatives of outstanding personality at important centers, there is need for men of specialized gifts and training for highly technical tasks. The Arabic version of the Bible is said to require now a complete revision. Where will be found a man with linguistic and exegetical gifts to head up this work? All through the Near East, nationalism and its significance is the burning question of the hour. Why should not the perplexities of missionaries and the muddle-mindedness of thousands grasping at nationalism in these lands receive some help from a technically trained Christian leader, versed in political science and history, who for a time, at least, would bring to the Near East, not dogmatically but suggestively, the best Christian judgment of the West? And why should the far-flung Christian missionary movement for Moslems be left without its thinkers and statesmen related to the whole movement? "Why should it not be pos-

sible," said Dr. John A. Mackay in 1936, addressing the mission boards of North America, "for some among us to take up a missionary relationship to the total missionary situation? What we want is not more research or more data. We have had abundance of both. What we need is time and capacity for clear seeing, conclusive thinking and decisive action." [1]

7. *There is urgent need for the unification of the forces working for Moslems.* The requirements of missions to Moslems which have been enumerated clearly demand some unification of the forces at work. Almost every need mentioned either imperatively requires some plan of unification or would be better met by such a plan. No mission singly can provide money or personnel for adequate Christian literature production. For a mission to attempt such work alone usually results in an output mediocre in quality and narrow in outlook. How, save on a cooperative basis, can strategy be displayed either in recruiting or in locating a personnel of outstanding ability? How, save by unification, can strategy be achieved in the occupation of fields and the meeting of emergency situations? This need has been recognized for years and various steps have been taken to meet the need.

Unification is required at two points. One is at the home base; the other on the field. At the home base, it is the counsel of perfection to ask that all mission boards be

[1] "Our Spiritual Limitations and Resources," by John A. Mackay, in *Report of the Forty-Third Annual Meeting of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 1936*, p. 100. New York, Foreign Missions Conference, 1936.

merged into one. So long as separate Christian churches exist in America, they will maintain their own separate mission boards, which can speak to them in their own ecclesiastical language, which will be collecting and recruiting agencies, and which will be responsible for all major decisions of foreign missionary policy. But this need not prevent an entirely practical form of unification. If the boards could agree, in respect to given countries or certain large areas, to pool their moneys, their men and their policies, the board secretary of one church, who is in charge of a particular field, could then meet with the board secretaries of other churches, who are in charge of the same field, and the group would constitute a union board of administration for that field. This has been done to a hopeful degree for Christian missions in the Philippines. It could be done for Turkey and Syria and Egypt and Iran, linking them together and giving them the reinforcement of a strategic policy and unified planning.

But, today, many decisions affecting missionary policy are determined on the field by the missionary organization of each area. How shall these be brought into a vital and effective cooperation? In the Near East there already exists the Near East Christian Council. Its outstanding achievement has been unification in the production of Christian literature for Moslems. Were this Council more adequately supported financially so that a truly satisfying representation from the several missions could be brought to its annual meetings, it could develop plans of unification such as are needed today to make possible the highest use of the Christian forces and funds and to seize the opportunity

God has given in these days for entering Moslem lives and hearts.

8. *There must be a more vivid and inspiring vision of the finished task and its significance.* "Lift up your eyes and look." At the beginning of everything is vision. "Where no vision is, the people perish." What does the accomplishment of this task represent to the world, to the Christian church, to you and to me?

To the church what will it mean? A conquest of easy victory ministering to spiritual pride and to a sense of superiority? No, not that. Rather will it mean experiences of Gethsemane followed by Calvary, until a divine resurrection power will have raised this dead world into life. And those who will see that victory will be so undone by the struggle that, perchance, there will be no singing, but only the moving of lips that say,

> Who best can drink his cup of woe,
> And triumph over pain,
> Who patient bears his cross below—
> He follows in His train.

And how is success to be pictured? In terms of Gothic churches and cathedrals scattered over these Moslem lands; with belfries clashing out once a week the summons to Sunday worship; with our Western chants and prayers all neatly translated into Arabic or into some other Moslem tongue; with organizational life modeled after the West; with theological statements reflecting all the ecclesiastical conflicts and doctrinal disputes of more than a millennium of the Western world? Probably there will be just enough

of that to satisfy some, as here and there bits will break away from the great solid mass of Islamic life and will accept under Western influence the religious forms of the West. But the great victory, the really complete conquest when the peoples of the Moslem world will accept Christ, will not likely come that way. Are we disinterested enough, as Christians, as a church, to have it come some other way that will not lend itself to our self-satisfaction?

Suppose that the true and full story of Jesus' life on earth came to be widely known among Moslems through the printed page. Suppose the transcendent love in that life, interpreted by the devotion and love of Christian missionaries, cast its spell upon Moslem hearts here and there until they began to modify their conception of Allah. Suppose that without foregoing anything of his living, vital, active, dynamic quality, without even diminishing his majestic attribute of power, they would gradually come to think of him as a God of love, making his power the servant of his love. Suppose that in studying the true and full life of Jesus they began to clothe Allah with holiness as well.

Suppose this group grew and grew, as so many of the great secret orders have grown and spread within Islam. Suppose that, like some Sufis today, they should recite the Moslem creed only as to its first half, and, following this course, they were then persecuted and were cast out from the Islamic brotherhood. Suppose they were sufficiently numerous to build a house of worship and were to build it like a mosque. Suppose they preferred the call to Christian prayer from a minaret and refused Western belfry and bells, and continued the daily prayers and made their form

of worship meditative and adorational instead of ritualistic and sermonic. Suppose their Christian Scriptures were chanted by them in the fashion of the Koranic chant which today holds the Moslem spellbound.

Suppose they went forward winning others and establishing many such groups, studying and exploring the revelation of God through Jesus, the genius of their organizational life being wholly Oriental and, to us, disjointed. Suppose baptism became with them an initiating rite into their Christian brotherhood, and the sacramental feast became a part of some memorial gathering of the brotherhood. Suppose that this and much else that finds no place in any church polity of the West became the expression of Moslem peoples who had found and accepted Christ, would the church accept it as a victory for her Lord?

The object in presenting this imaginary, yet not wholly fanciful, picture is to bring home to our Western provincial minds the strong probability that when Christ becomes enthroned in the Moslem world, widely and generally, it is not likely to be by the formal conquest of that world by our Western forms of thought and worship, of church organization and polity. It will be rather by the spirit and revelation of Jesus entering, as a re-creating force, into this vast and elaborate system of life which Islam has built up across thirteen centuries, working from within and determining its own forms and modes of Christian expression. Everything now unworthy and unlovely, everything now unclean and cruel, will be cleansed of its evil, but that which remains will be recognizable as not of the West, but something true to the genius and culture of what we now call

the Moslem world. It will then be our risen and living Lord who has found his own way into the Moslem world.

The thrill of such an achievement may well command our service and our sacrifice. An experience related by Dr. John Van Ess of Arabia sets forth as in a parable what we are seeking to express:

I saw Christ once. It was a blazing afternoon in August in Arabia and I was tossing on my bed in the delirium of fever. Suddenly I saw a young Arab standing by my bed. He was dressed as all Arabs are, in the white tunic with the long sleeves covering his hands and with the headcloth and the camel hair coil about his head. As I accosted him he slowly raised his hand, the sleeve fell away and I saw a scar on his hand as of a nail. Then still very slowly he lifted the headcloth from his forehead, which I saw all marred with gashes. I said to him in Arabic, "*Seidi?* (My Lord?)" He only smiled and slowly as I watched him he faded away. Was it the delirium of a fever? I have come to think that I was never saner than at that moment. And now I go everywhere trying to find him again. As I see a common Arab on the street I think it may be he. The footfalls around my house at night I imagine may be his. It makes of every hut and tent a temple where I may find him. Some day on some desert highway as I give to one whom I regard as a common Arab a drink of water, I shall see in the outstretched hands the prints of the nails again, only he will say: "My disciple, why have you been so long in finding me?"

Glossary

For a number of these words more than one spelling is current, and for them variant spellings are given. These variations are due to two facts: first, that some writers prefer the more scientific and others the more customary rendering of Arabic words; and second, that pronunciation varies in different regions. There are some consonants in Arabic which are unlike any in English. No attempt will be made to indicate these. Vowels are pronounced as in the Romance languages. Accented *a* is the same as *a* in father, though somewhat flatter in tone; unaccented *a* is also long, but it is pronounced more hurriedly. Approximate phonetic pronunciation of a few of the following words is suggested in italic type, although as already noted it is impossible to convey an accurate idea of the sound of certain consonants.

Ah ma di'ya (*ah-ma-dee'ya*). The name of a modern sect of Moslems who follow the teaching of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.

Al lah'. God; corresponds to the Jewish term Jehovah.

A mir', A meer' or E mir'. Ruler; commander.

A zan'. The call to prayer.

Be'dou in. A nomad Arab of the desert.

Ca'liph, Kha lif' (*ka-leef'*) or Kha li'fah (*ka-lee'fa*). Leader; title of the head of the Moslem state.

Der'vish or Dar wish'. A religious mendicant; member of a dervish order.

Dhim'mi. A Christian subject; status allowed to "the people of the Book" (Christians and Jews).

Fa qir' or Fa kir' (*fa-keer'*). A religious mendicant.

Fat'wa or Fet'va. A religious or judicial pronouncement made by a legal authority.

Ha dith' or Ha dis'. The Traditions; the authoritative collections of the sayings and deeds of Mohammed.

Ha'fiz. One who has committed the entire Koran to memory.

Ha'ji. One who has performed the *hajj*, or pilgrimage to Mecca.

Ha ram'. Literally, prohibited; that which is unlawful.

Ha rem' (*ha-reem'*). The women's apartments in a Moslem household.

He gi'ra or Hij'rah. The migration or flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina.

Hou'ri. A nymph of the Mohammedan paradise.

I jaz'. The insuperability of the Koran.

Ij ma'. The agreement or consensus of learned doctors; one of the recognized methods of settling disputed points of law.

Ij ti had'. An authoritative decision on religion or law.

I mam'. One who leads the congregation in prayer.

I man'. Faith; especially the statement of the six articles of faith.

I'sa (*ee'sa*). The Moslem name for Jesus.

Is lam'. Literally, resignation or submission to the will of God.

Ji had'. A war against countries not under Moslem control, waged for the sake of extending the faith, power and glory of Islam.

Jin'ni (plural, Jinn). A spirit being; some *jinn* are evil, others are good.

Kaa'ba. Literally, cube; the central shrine of Islam in Mecca.

Ka'di, Qa'di, Qa'zi or Ca'di. A judge.

Ka'fir. An unbeliever; an infidel.

Ka'li ma. The short form of the Moslem creed: "There is no god but Allah, and Mohammed is the prophet of Allah."

Ko ran' or Qu ran'. A collection of Mohammed's sayings, supposed to have been verbally dictated by the Angel Gabriel.

Lay la tul-Qadr'. The Night of Decreeing; the night on which it is believed the Koran was brought down to the lowest of the seven heavens, whence it was communicated piecemeal to Mohammed.

Mah'di. Literally, the directed or guided one; the ruler Moslems expect to appear on earth in the Last Days to convert the whole world to Islam.

Maul'vi. A learned man; see *mullah*.

Mih rab'. Niche in a mosque indicating the *qibla,* the direction to face for prayer.

Min'a ret. The tower of a mosque from which the call to prayer is made.

Moo lid en Ne'bi. Festival of the birth of the Prophet Mohammed.

Mosque or Mas'jid. A place for worship which should contain a niche to indicate the direction of Mecca, a tank for ablutions, and a pulpit for the Friday sermon.

Mu ez'zin or Mu edh'dhin. The one who gives the call to prayer.

Muf'ti. A learned doctor of law.

Mu har'ram. The first month of the Mohammedan year, in which the Shiites celebrate the death of their saints, Ali, Hasan and Husain.

MUJ'TA HID. The highest grade of learned doctor.

MUL'LAH or MOL'LAH. A learned man; Persian form of the Indian *maulvi*.

PUR'DAH or PAR'DAH. Literally, curtain; seclusion of women of social position.

QIB'LA. The direction in which to face for prayer, i.e., toward Mecca.

RA MA DAN' or RA MA ZAN'. The ninth month of the Moslem calendar, during which fast is observed from earliest dawn to sunset.

SA LAT'. The Arabic term for ritual prayer.

SAY'YID or SY'ED (*sy'yid*). Literally, lord; a term or title used with personal names to indicate descent from Mohammed.

SHA RI'AT. The sacred or canon law.

SHEIKH (*shayk*). Leader; head of tribe; religious leader.

SHI'ITE (*shee'ite*). The name of the sect composed of the followers of Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed and the fourth caliph.

SU'FI. The follower of a school of thought, originally ascetic, which developed very influential mystical doctrines.

SUL TAN'. Ruler; emperor.

SUN'NA. The customs sanctioned by Mohammed and his companions; handed down in the *Hadith*.

SUN'NITE. The name of the largest sect of Moslems, so called because they follow the *Sunna* or Traditions.

SU'RA. A division or chapter of the Koran.

WAH HA'BI. The name of a Puritan Moslem sect with headquarters in Central Arabia.

WA'JIB. Literally, that which is obligatory; a term used for imperative observances, the non-observance of which constitutes sin.

WAKF or WAQF. Property dedicated to pious or charitable use.

ZE NA'NA. The Indian and Persian form for the women's apartments; see *harem*.

ZIK'R. The ritual used by the dervish orders for inducing a state of mystic ecstasy.

Reading List

This is in no sense an exhaustive bibliography, but the following books deal with most of the subjects discussed in the various chapters. The views of their writers are not necessarily in harmony with those of the author. Several older books have been included because of their special value as reference sources. Although some of these are out of print, they may be consulted in most libraries. Readers will find invaluable material in *The Moslem World*, a quarterly edited by Samuel M. Zwemer, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York. The yearly subscription rate is $2.00; single copies cost 50 cents. Leaders of classes using this book will wish to obtain "The Christian Approach to Moslems," by T. H. P. Sailer, a course for adult groups studying the Moslem world. This is available from denominational literature headquarters for twenty-five cents.

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Index

Abbasid caliphate, 22, 48, 130
Abdul Qadir, Lady, 100
Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, An, 37, 65
Adams, Charles C., 118-19
Afghanistan, and British India, 23, 25; geography of, 23; mineral resources of, 24; modern currents in, 23; Moslem population of, 23
Africa, 2, 4, 5, 52; black belt of Central, 6-8, 11; Europeans in, 12; Moslem population of, 16; North, 2-5, 11-13, 15, 169
Ahmadiya movement, 120
Al Azhar University, 13, 14, 116
Algeria, 8, 10, 11; area of, 12; population of, 12
American Bible Society, 157
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 181
American Christian Literature Society, 157
American University at Cairo, 102, 116, 165
Amir Ali, Sayyid, 54, 73
Ankara (Angora), 17, 19, 20
Arab at Home, The, 36, 40
Arabia, 6, 15, 16, 52; "cradle of Islam," 17; geography of, 17; Moslem population of, 18
Arabian Peak and Desert, 34, 50
Arabs in Africa, 6, 16
Armenian church, the, 166
Armenians, 137
Asia, 15, 52
Asia Minor, 22, 95
Ataturk, Mustapha Kemal, 111

Barton, Dr. James L., 166-67
Battaks, the, 51
Bedouins, the, 9, 36, 41
Berbers, the, 6, 12, 27, 52
Bevan, Dr. Edwyn, 178
Bible, Arabic version of, 185; translation for Moslems of, 157
Borneo, 26
British and Foreign Bible Society, 157
Browne, Laurence E., 67, 125, 126, 132
Byzantine Empire, 12, 17, 59, 128

Cairo, Al Azhar University at, 13, 14, 116; American University at, 102, 116, 165; brain of orthodox Islam, 14; modern Moslems in, 52; strategic center of Islam, 185
Camerouns, 26
Capitulations, the, 114, 141-42
Central Asia, 27
Central Literature Committee for Moslems, 158
Chad, Lake, 7
China, 27
Christian Life and Message in Relation to Non-Christian Systems of Life and Thought, The, 86
Christian literature for Moslems, 156-58

Christianity, and Islam, 74-75, 85-86; contacts of, with Islam, 123-44; conversions from Islam to, 135, 169; future of, 172-91; gifts of science brought by, 142; idealism of, 143; in Mohammed's time, 125-27; influence on Islam of, 96, 131-36, 145-46; leaders of early, 12; missionary movements of, 145-72; Mohammed's contacts with, 124-28; Moslem view of, 140-44; progressiveness of, 143; recognition of resources of, 172-74. *See also* Missions to Moslems
Christians under Moslem rule, 131, 139
Church Missionary Society, 154
Congo, Belgian, 27
Constantinople, *see* Istanbul
Coptic church, 111, 166-68
Cromer, Lord, 91, 108
Crusades, the, 95, 132-36, 154

Damascus, population of, 19; educated Moslems in, 52
Davis, W. S., 139
Daybreak in Turkey, 166-67
de Lens, A. R., 47
Doughty, Charles M., 41
Duchêne, Ferdinand, 47

Eclipse of Christianity in Asia, The, 67, 125, 126, 132, 133
Egypt, Al Azhar University in, 13, 14, 116; American University at Cairo, 102, 116, 165; British work in, 109; Cairo a strategic center of, 185; Cairo daily press, the, 117-18; Capitulations in, the, 114; contacts with Christianity in, 153; Delta of, 14; early Christian church in, 126; economic growth of, 109-10; education in, 105; Feminist Union of Egypt, the, 102; geographic location of, 13; irrigation in, 108-9; King Fuad of, 101; Mahdi rebellions in, 15; medical work in, 165-66; nationalism in, 111; polygamy in, 119-20; significance of, to Moslem world, 13-14; slavery in, 15; social life in, 101; woman's condition in, 44-45, 101-3
Esselstyn, Lewis F., 159
Ethiopia, 15, 16, 134

Fahmy, Professor Mansur, 45
Fascism, 110-11
Feisal, King, 106
Feminist movement, *see* Women in the Moslem world
Francis of Assisi, 147
French, Bishop Thomas V., 159
Fuad I, King, 101

Gairdner, Canon W. H. T., 74-75, 85-86, 126
Ghazzali, 81, 120
Gordon, General Charles, 15
Grant, Dr. Asahel, 162
Great Britain, 15, 110

Hadith, see Tradition
Harem, atmosphere of the, 43-44; Christian work in the, 160-61
Harnack, Adolph, 12
Harrison, Paul W., 36, 39, 40, 72-73, 75, 83
Holy Roman Empire, 110
Hospitality among Moslems, 36-37

Ibn Saoud, 48
Ikbal Ali Shah, Sirdar, 73
Illiteracy in Moslem lands, 14, 15, 16, 143
India, Ahmidiya movement in, 120; Hindus and Hinduism in, 153; Islamic invasion of, 25; Kashmir, 25; Moslem population of, 24, 25; Moslem women in, 120-21; Northwest Frontier of, 25; outcastes of, 153; population of, 24; *purdah* system in, 100-1
Introduction to the Sociology of Islam, An, 90
Ion Keith-Falconer of Arabia, 151
Iran, Christian missions in, 154, 159, 162, 168; economic growth of, 108; education in, 105-6; progress in, 111; Riza Shah Pahlavi, 111; Shiites and Sunnites in, 21-22; social changes in, 99-100; women in, 99-100
Iraq, economic growth of, 108; education in, 106; King Feisal, 106; Moslem population of, 21
Islam, meaning of, 66-67
Islam, 22, 130; appraisal of, 70-93; Arab backgrounds of, 11; as a state religion, 113-14; belief in God in, 67; calls to prayer in, 31, 57, 65; Christian missions and, 117; conception of God in, 80-81, 84; conquests by, 3, 6, 17-18, 128-29; conservative reformers in, 118-21; contacts with Christendom, 123-44; desert backgrounds of, 9, 10, 118; effects of, on life, 74-75; fatalism in, 49, 50, 51; feasts and festivals of, 37; five practices of, 79-80; in Spain, 139; Jesus, idea of, 71-72; law and justice in, 92-93; modern period of, 96-98; moral standards of, 89-90; mystics in, 120-21; period of Crusades of, 132-36; period of culture of, 129-32; period of conquest of, 128-29; physical and material condition in, 82; physical force in, 74; polygamy in, 117-18; power of God in, 67; reactionaries in, 117-18; science and, 115-17; secularism in, 21-22; *shariat*, religious law of, 87, 93, 116, 155; sin, idea of, 90-91; slavery in, 89; social order in, 85-86; Sunnites and Shiites sects of, 22; thought life of, 83; totalitarian state, 53; war in, 91; women in, 44-48, 88, 98-99, 100-5; world phenomenon of, 70-71
Islam and Modernism in Egypt, 118-19
Islam and the Psychology of the Musulman, 9
Islam: Beliefs and Institutions, 78
Istanbul, 10, 22, 52, 102
Italy in Africa, 12

Java, Christian work in, 168-69; Islam in, 26; Moslem population of, 26; pilgrims to Mecca from, 26
Jerusalem, International Missionary Council meeting at, 85-86
Jesus Christ, 32, 55, 58, 71-72, 175-76, 190; Moslem attitude toward, 75
Jews, 18, 53, 178. *See also* Palestine

Kaaba, 63
Keith-Falconer, Ion, 150-51

Koran, 48, 49, 54, 57, 62, 68; beliefs and practices in, 79; compendium of laws, 60; conception of God in, 58, 80-81; description of, 59-60; disconnectedness of, 76; historical and scientific errors in, 76; human nature in, 79-80; imagery of thought and language of, 33-34; inspiration of, 78; literary value of, 59; moral teachings of, 77; nature of, 59; on war, 91; on women, 86-87; place in Moslem life of, 60; recitation of, 60; science and the, 115-16; Suras or verses of, 61; teachings of, 66; *versus* Bible, 156

Lammens, Henri, 78
Lane, E. W., 37
Laubach, Frank, 165
Lawrence, T. E., 41
Lebanon, 5, 108
Leeder, S. H., 47
Le Harem Entr'ouvert, 47
Les Désenchantées, 47
Levy, Reuben, 90
Liberia, 27
Literacy in Moslem lands, 48, 88
Literature for Moslems, Christian, 156-58
Living Christ and Dying Heathenism, The, 51
Livingstone, David, 48
Loti, Pierre, 47
Lugard, Sir Frederick, 7
Lull, Raymond, 148

Mackay, Dr. John A., 186
Malaysia, 25, 26, 27, 65
Margoliouth, Dr. D. S., 54
Martel, Charles, 128
Martyn, Henry, 149
Mauritania, 5, 6
Mecca, 18, 31
Medical missions to Moslems, 161-65
Medina, 18
Merrick, James L., 154, 159
Mesopotamia, *see* Iraq
Mindanao, 26
Missions to Moslems, agencies of, 152-53; definition of task of, 175-80; difficulties and limitations of, 153-54, 174-75; early, 145-46; future of, 162-65; methods of approach of, 156-71, 182-86; modern, 149-71; outstanding personalities of, 149-52; policy of, 169-70; pre-modern, 146-49; schools conducted by, 162-65; *shariat* and, 155; translation of Bible for, 157; unification of forces of, 186-88; unselfish character of, 180-82
Mohammed, burial of, 55; Christianity in time of, 125-27; contacts with Christianity, 124-28; creed of, 55; death of, 55; estimate of, 56-57; humanity of, 55; Khadijah, wife of, 54; life of, 54; military leader, 58; on women, 58; place in history of, 55; social and sexual shortcomings of, 73-74
Monroe, Dr. Paul, 106
Morocco, 2-5
Moslem Faces the Future, The, 83
Moslem world, architecture in, 32; childhood in, 42-44; costume in, 32; deserts of, 9; disease in, 42, 43, 50, 143; divorce in, 47; education in, 48-49, 104-6; feuds in, 51; hospitality

in, 36-37; illiteracy in, 14, 15, 16, 143; infant mortality in, 43; legal attitude toward Christians in, 92, 118; leisure and repose in, 33; literacy in, 48, 88; marriage ceremony in, 46; meager physical life in, 41; mental stagnation in, 48; minorities in, 8, 26-27; mosques and minarets in, 30; national and political life in, 109-13; nationalism in, 97-98, 110-14; population of lands of, 2-3, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27; poverty in, 42-43; primitive life in, 41; races of, 52; schools in, 3, 43-44; sense of God in, 38-39; social changes in, 98-104, 109; thought and language in, 33; veil and lattice in, 35; woman's position in, 44-48, 88, 98-99, 100-5; worship in, 31
Moslems, total number of, 17, 27
Mott, Dr. John R., 115, 140, 183
Muezzin, 30
Mutazalite rule, 131
Mysticism in Islam, 120-21

Nationalism in Moslem lands, 97-98, 110-14
Nayman, Esma, on feminism, 99
Near East Christian Council, 187
Nejd, 18
Negro, the, 6, 7, 15, 65
Nile River, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15, 41, 42, 143
North Africa, 2-5, 11-13, 15, 169

O'Connor, V. C. Scott, 5
Okba, Islamic conquest under, 3
Oriental churches, work for, 166-68
Ottoman Empire, 20, 23, 136-40
Our Moslem Sisters, 45
Oxford Group Movement, 178

Padwick, Constance E., 158
Palestine, air survey of, 18-19; economic growth of, 108; Jewish immigration to, 108; Moslems in, 18; population of, 18; Zionism in, 108
Palgrave, W. G., 36, 41
Pan-Islamism, 110, 111, 114
Pennel, Dr. Theodore L., 151
Persia, *see* Iran
Pfander, Dr., 149
Philippines, 26, 164-65
Polygamy, 117-18
Presbyterian Foreign Missions, 150

Qibla (direction of Mecca), 31

Ramadan, 38, 63, 64-65, 117
Report of the Forty-third Annual Meeting of the Foreign Missions Conference, 1936, 186
Rihani, Ameen F., 34, 50
Rio de Oro, 5
Riza Shah Pahlavi, 111
Robson, James, 153
Rodwell, J. M., 60
Roman Catholics, 58, 134
Roman Empire, 12, 13, 58, 131

Sahara, the, 7, 8-10
Sailer, Dr. T. H. P., 83
Saladin, 48, 81
Serampore mission, 149
Servier, André, 9
Sharawi, Madame Hoda, 102
Shariat, 87, 93, 116, 155
Shiites, 21, 22, 54
Short History of Christian Missions, A, 146-48

Short History of the Near East, A, 139
Slave trade, the, 7, 8, 89
Smith, Dr. Eli, 150
Smith, George Adams, 81, 146-48
Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, 157
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 154
Somalis, the, 16
Sophia, Mosque of St., 113
Soviet Central Russia, 22
Spain, 11, 48, 131, 139
Speer, Dr. Robert E., 150, 162
Sudan, the, 6, 7, 9, 14, 15
Sufi mystics, the, 55, 178, 189
Sumatra, 25, 26
Sunnites, the, 21, 122
Syria, 8, 19, 50, 108, 150

Thamilla, 47
Transjordania, 108
Tradition, the (*Hadith*), 62-64
Tripolitania, 13
Turkestan, 21, 22
Turkey, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in, 181; Ataturk, Mustapha Kemal, president of, 111; conquest of Christian lands by, 136-40; early attitude towards Christian missions in, 154; economic growth of, 107; education in, 105; Fascism in, 111; geographical character of, 19; language reform in, 112; legal reforms in, 93; Moslem population of, 19; nationalism in, 111-12; new status of women in, 99, 103-4; Ottoman period of, 136-40; progress in, 19; religious reforms in, 113; resources of, 21; secularism in, 121-22; social changes in, 19, 99

Urban II, Pope, 132

Van Dyck, Dr. C. V. A., 150, 157
Van Ess, Dr. John, 191
Van Sommer, Annie, 45
Veiled Mysteries of Egypt and the Religion of Islam, The, 47
Vital Forces of Christianity and Islam, The, 75

Warneck, Joh., 51
What Is This Christianity?, 174, 176
White, Dr. H. V., 181
Women in the Moslem world, status of, 44-48, 88, 98-99, 100-5
Woods, Bishop E. S., 174, 176
World War, effect on Moslem world of, 94-95, 109

Zwemer, Dr. Samuel M., 45, 88, 169

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